SPEECHES & ADDRESSES

OF HIS HIGHNESS SAYAJI RAO III

Maharaja of Baroda

VOLUME I



G. L. Manuel Frères photographes — Emery Walker ph.sc.

Sayaji Rao Gaekwar

SPEECHES & ADDRESSES

OF

HIS HIGHNESS SAYAJI RAO III

Maharaja of Baroda

VOLUME ONE

1877—1910

With
a Portrait of His Highness
in photogravure

PRIVATELY PRINTED AT
THE UNIVERSITY PRESS
CAMBRIDGE
1927

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN

PREFACE

During the course of a reign of more than fifty years, His Highness Sayaji Rao III, the ruling Maharaja of Baroda, has delivered a number of Speeches and Addresses, on occasions grave and gay. In many of these he has indicated his attitude towards, and his ideas upon, important matters of progressive social policy, endeavouring to take his subjects and others into his confidence, and to arouse their active co-operation with him. His Highness has often been requested to allow a collection of his Speeches and Addresses to be made and printed in suitable form. To these requests he has now acceded. The records of his public utterances of this kind are far from complete, and those printed here are those which are at present available. The occasions upon which they have been given have differed greatly in their importance, but it is thought that a broader and more correct view of the Maharaja, his ideas and activities, may be obtained by printing all rather than restricting ourselves to the most important. They are given in chronological sequence, as the dates and order of these utterances have themselves a definite significance and interest. The index which is given at the end of the second volume will enable easy reference to be made to the ideas expressed at different times and places on the most important subjects. For the convenience of those unacquainted with the Indian terms used, I have given a short glossary at the end of volume two. I have also added a brief introduction.

I wish here to express my appreciation of the honour His Highness has conferred upon me in entrusting to me the editing of these volumes and seeing them through the press. My thanks are also due to Rao Bahadur G. B. Ambegaokar, Private Secretary to His Highness, for his assistance in connection with the preparation of the manuscript. I also take this opportunity of recording the help which I have obtained from Rao Bahadur Govindbhai H. Desai's Gazetteer of the Baroda State.

ALBAN G. WIDGERY

Cambridge,
August 1927

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SPECHES & ADDRESSES OF HIS HIGHNESS SAYAJI RAO III Maharaja of Baroda

INTRODUCTION

HIS HIGHNESS SAYAJI RAO III, the ruling Maharaja of the State of Baroda, was born on the 17th of March 1862. The preceding Maharaja, Malharrao, a younger brother of the Maharaja Khanderao, had succeeded the latter in 1870, but for his general misrule was deposed by the British Government in 1875. On the 27th of May in the same year, the Maharani Jamnabai, consort of Khanderao, adopted the boy Gopalrao as her husband's son and heir, and he was installed on the *gadi* with the name of Sayaji Rao III. Though coming from a line in direct descent from Prataprao, the brother of Damajirao who reigned from 1732 to 1768, his family had not received the promised share in the conquests of Damajirao whom Prataprao had assisted in a foray in Khandesh. For many years the family had been in the main forgotten, and His Highness' early years were spent in an obscure village of Khandesh, in honourable though comparatively poor circumstances.

That the choice of Gopalrao was well considered and could not have been haphazard the history of his reign

amply shows. A shrewdness and tenacity of character, qualities typical of the greatest of the Maratha leaders, must have been evident in his early years in the conditions of his simple country life. Being only thirteen years old at his accession, for the next six years he gave himself up to systematic physical and mental training. The habits then formed have left their impression throughout his life. He lets nothing debar him from his daily exercise, in later years chiefly riding, and whenever he can free his mind from affairs of State he pursues some intellectual interest such as the reading and discussion of philosophy and the study of Sanskrit.

The inheritance to which His Highness had succeeded was obviously one of great possibilities, but of which the actualities were far from happy. In place of a progressive State policy for the advance and welfare of the subjects, disorder prevailed. The conditions could not be better described than in the words of Rao Bahadur Govindbhai H. Desai in the *Gazetteer of the Baroda State*, vol. I, pp. 605–6:

> The path was encumbered by difficulties of every kind and description. Corruption and abuse of power had held sway too long and too successfully to suffer ejection without a bitter struggle, and vested interests only too naturally looked on the new order with jealousy and hatred. During the rule of the deposed Maharaja, extravagantly lavish gifts had been showered on his *mandli*, his friends and dependents, out of public funds; and the Dewan's determination to compel them to disgorge what they regarded as their lawfully acquired property, acquired in accordance with the ethics of their time and environment, was stoutly resisted. It was but a repetition of an oft-told story.
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> From the Sirdars came complaints which had to be heard and as far as possible redressed. The allowances of this large military class had sometimes not been paid: payment had to be made.

Sometimes allowances to which no claim could be substantiated had been paid for years; payment had to be stopped after laborious examination of the claims put forward. From the citizens of Baroda and from private individuals all over the State came allegations of unjustifiable confiscation of property, all of which had to be scrutinised. In far too many cases it was found that the allegations were true and restitution had to be made. The bankers presented involved statements regarding sums due to them from the State, sums amounting to many lakhs of rupees. These statements, involving presentation of intricate accounts, had to be examined, and the demands settled. Jewellers in great numbers came forward to swear that jewels had been bought by the last Maharaja and had not been paid for; or that precious stones had been sent to him for inspection and had never been returned.

It was first necessary to restore order in the administration and finances of the State, and in his early years His Highness was fortunate in having the eminent statesman, Sir T. Madhavrao,* to aid in this task. Again in Mr Govindbhai's words:

An adequate machinery for the administration of justice was to be established. The country was to be provided with a police force commensurate with its size and with the density and character of the population to be protected. Necessary and useful public works were to be taken in hand. Popular education was to be given; and medical agencies were to be called into being. Where the burden of taxation was found to be excessive it was to be reduced and taxes were to be readjusted where necessary or to be abolished where objectionable. Economy was to be enforced in expenditure, extravagance to be discouraged, corruption and malversation to

* Raja Sir T. Madhavrao, born in 1828, a Maratha by race, after a period of academic life in Madras became Dewan of Travancore where he stayed for fourteen years. Later he held the office of Dewan of Indore until the British Government chose him in 1875 to occupy a similar position in the Baroda State. His courage and persistence, combined with far-sighted statesmanship, did much to remedy the evils caused by the former misrule, making possible the constructive progressive policy embarked upon by His Highness.

be exterminated. Especially it was to be the aim to ensure that expenditure should be kept below the level of the receipts of revenue, so that accumulated surpluses might be available for the establishment of an adequate reserve. The executive was to be strengthened to such a pitch that Government might be co-extensive with the country and its population, and might be a constantly present power.

By the time His Highness was invested with full powers, in 1881, order had been restored, and instead of the apparently almost inevitable bankruptcy of his State just previous to his accession, a reserve of one and a half crores of rupees had been built up. From that time to this, the State has not only maintained its financial stability, but led by the enthusiasm and foresight of His Highness has been a pioneer of reform and progress along almost all paths of human welfare. As giving evidence of the changed condition of Baroda, even as early as 1886, a speech of His Excellency the Viceroy, Lord Dufferin, has been included in this volume in its proper chronological context.

The time had not come, and has hardly yet come, for a popularly elected representative Government exactly on the lines of those of the West. For such forms of government a much higher actual level of education and knowledge amongst the masses of the people was and is necessary. The circumstances have called for a form of autocracy, and the State has been fortunate in obtaining a ruler, enlightened and benevolent.

His Highness has been a great lover of books, but keenly aware of the importance of the spread of knowledge amongst his subjects, gave his large personal library to form the substantial basis for a State Library organisation which for many years has had no equal in India. This is mentioned

only to give a truer appreciation of the Maharaja's still greater interest in men and things. There never was a ruler who was more interested in meeting and studying new personalities, enquiring into their work, asking their opinions and estimating their worth. There never was a ruler more receptive of good ideas from those he met, and rarely one who has to such an extent the Indian power of memory and retentiveness. His interest in men and his power of discernment have enabled him to appoint to the highest positions in his State men who have been sincere counsellors and capable administrators. In choosing his chief ministers he has shown that detachment from party and sectarian prejudice which he has declared to be so deplorable. At one time he appointed a Bengali as his Dewan, at another an Englishman, a Gujarati, a Marathi, a Parsi, a Muslim, recognising merit wherever found.

His Highness' interest in men and things has also been a main cause of his love of travel. His visits to Europe, America, and Japan have provided him with numerous opportunities of comparison and study. He has contrasted the conditions in India with those elsewhere, and he has enquired minutely into the success or otherwise of movements which appeared to make for progress. And with regard to those obviously good, the question has always suggested itself to his mind: How can something similar be introduced into my own State, adapted to its conditions and needs? But it was not long before he realised how difficult is the step from the adoption of progressive ideas to their efficient translation into practice. The rank and file of his officers, whose loyal wish to co-operate with His Highness deserves to be recorded, have nevertheless far too often lacked the insight into the real significance of his plans

and even more often the training and knowledge for their proper execution. To meet this His Highness has sent a succession of men for training abroad.

The Maharaja has felt even more profoundly the need for an intelligent understanding of his aims and methods by his subjects in general, as well as for their active co-operation. Towards this end his pioneer work in providing free primary education, strengthened by being made compulsory, has contributed much, in addition to what it has otherwise done for the personal welfare of the people. But in the prevailing circumstances His Highness has perceived that such education is not enough for this purpose. He has desired to take his subjects more into his confidence and to inspire their loyal co-operation in a way that only personal contact can. It is thus that from the earliest years of his reign, the Maharaja has availed himself of many opportunities to address his subjects on a variety of matters affecting their welfare.

It is to be regretted that no complete record of the Maharaja's Speeches and Addresses has been preserved. Those which are printed here extend over about fifty years, from shortly after his accession to the time of the celebration of the Golden Jubilee of his reign. They represent ideas on a wide range of subjects, all of the greatest moment for the future not merely of the State of Baroda but also of India as a whole.

To do full justice to the Speeches it is necessary to know something of the personality of the man. A little below medium height and moderately robust in build, His Highness has that erectness which comes from the effects of regular physical exercise allied with a consciousness of personal power. In delivering his Speeches, as in his daily conversation, he manifests a natural dignity conforming

with the eminence of his position. His public utterances are made with an easy grace as his personal intercourse with the humblest or the highest is courteous and friendly. His voice is clear but never raised, and reveals at all times remarkable equanimity and utmost sincerity. His personality has inspired a respect and affection among his officers, his subjects, and many others in India, Europe, and America, only equalled by the stimulus to activity given by the ideas he has inculcated both in his Speeches and in his private conversation.

In spite of the pomp and circumstance of his surroundings as the ruler of one of the most important of Indian States, His Highness has maintained an essential simplicity, verging in some directions on abstemiousness. Though desiring that his efforts for the good of his subjects shall be recognised, he has not sought popularity. He has always shown the strength of his convictions and abided by them whatever the popular view. Nevertheless in administration he has exercised the tact necessary to bring his subjects step by step towards an ideal for the whole of which they may reveal themselves as unprepared, as, for example, was the case with regard to the legal age for marriage. His personal example in matters of domestic life and social intercourse has done more in Baroda and among his brother-rulers and educated Indians generally than even the convictions on these matters which have found expression repeatedly in his public utterances.

A man of deep feeling, there is nothing of the weakly sentimental in his nature. In the loss of three of his sons he has suffered much, but never has he been known to allow such events to divert him from his duties and responsibilities. In spite of repeated disappointments at the manner in which cherished ideas have failed, owing to ineptness, inefficiency

or intrigue on the part of persons concerned in putting them into practice, he has never given up his lofty and broad idealism.

Those who have been admitted to the honour of personal friendship with His Highness are aware of his sense of humour, and of his appreciation of those who can provide him with the relaxation which humour brings to those burdened with great and continued responsibilities. His Speech at the Sayaji Vihar Club on the 17th of December 1914 reveals his sense of humour in contemplating some of the circumstances of his early European travels. But it is evident to all who know him well that seriousness and earnestness overwhelmingly predominate in his character. His mind is ever active, and it may be safely said that the subjects of his reflection are with rare exceptions matters of the welfare of his State. This is the case whether within the State itself or thousands of miles from it. As an illustration of this continuous mental activity may be recorded how even on board ship he has been known to keep under his pillow at night a book for jotting down notes of his thoughts often leading to important orders being issued the following day.

The Speeches and Addresses collected here reveal the great breadth of the Maharaja's ideas and sympathies./ It can well be imagined that at an earlier time many must have regarded him as championing an Occidental mode of life as opposed to an Oriental one. It is more correct to say that he has stood and stands for a modern civilisation against the deadening effects and the evils of mediaeval and ancient traditions and customs based upon erroneous conceptions of life and the world. He is far too critical to believe that patriotism is inseparably bound up with the

acceptance of particular traditional views and adherence to specific customs appertaining to matters of personal hygiene, of housing, clothing, food, marriage, or social intercourse. For him, true patriotism consists in the endeavour to obtain the highest type of life for the greatest possible number of one's fellow-countrymen. The extent of his freedom of thought and action might be regarded as remarkable in any man; it is and has been doubly so in an Indian born more than sixty years ago amongst a people rightly proud of their historic culture but not notably discriminating as to the relative worth of its constituents.

In his general attitude and in his predominant opinions, His Highness Sayaji Rao III is a modern Humanist. Throughout the following pages it will be seen that he has an ideal of a healthy and full human life. His Humanism is, however, free from those common faults of so many Humanisms—the taint of individualism and the assumption that the highest culture is of necessity only for a privileged class. The cultured life, as he conceives it, is not a luxury for the few, but a necessity for the many: it is a social ideal in which all should share so far as they may be educated to enjoy it. Yet the Humanist ideal is not simply a life to enjoy; it is also an active existence in which all, from peasant to prince, are called to take their part and perform their specific functions with due regard to their particular responsibilities. The Maharaja's attitude is thus not only idealistic: it is at the same time intensely practical as these Speeches and the fifty years of his administration of a State of more than 2,000,000 people amply show. During these years a very large number of forces economic and other have, it may be said, been making India "modern". The Maharaja of Baroda has been not merely allied with these

tendencies: he has been one of their leading pioneers. It has often enough been said, with a large amount of truth: "What Baroda does to-day, India does to-morrow". His Highness' utterances have been regarded far beyond his own dominions as an expression of the ideals of progressive Indians during the last half century and an indication of the lines along which progress may be achieved.

In his Speeches and Addresses we have an insistence on those things which make for physical sanity. There is the importance attached in his practical policy as in his words to the supply of pure water. He has urged time after time the need for the diffusion of knowledge of proper sanitation and the provision of a public service for its requirements. Not merely physical well-being, but all cultural advance depends in large measure on economic progress. For this reason he has never lost an opportunity of calling upon Indians to awaken themselves to the needs of industries and commerce if India is to take its rightful place in the modern world. By the starting of industries, by assisting in the establishment of banks, and by the development of railways he has put into practice in his own State the policy he has advocated.

The welfare of the people of India generally, both physical and mental, has suffered much from pernicious customs associated with false sentiments and ideas. Against these His Highness has carried on a continuous propaganda and an active warfare. Of these the chief may be said to be child marriage and caste, especially in its worst features as manifested in the treatment of the so-called "untouchables". These are evils rooted in age-long customs which have fortified themselves with pseudo-scientific and pseudo-religious sanctions. There is still much to be done to achieve

complete emancipation, but that so eminent a personality as His Highness has raised his voice so frequently and given his support so definitely for freedom has been a leading factor in the advance so far made. There are other practices which he has similarly opposed, such as *purdah* and the prevention of widow-remarriage.

Yet above all else, whether we notice the occasions or the contents of most of these Speeches and Addresses, it is evident, as it is in a survey of his actual administration, that it is education which has been the fundamental motive of His Highness' reign. From the commencement he grasped the vital truth that a people without the rudiments of education could not understand or take an intelligent part in, let alone appreciate at their true worth, the various aspects of his progressive policy. In these volumes it will be seen how persistently and consistently he has urged this need of his entire people, of both sexes and for all classes. He looks chiefly to education not simply for progress in social conditions but also for industrial, commercial, and economic advance generally. He has urged his countrymen time after time to seek knowledge wherever it may be found, in past or present, in East or West.

It is not simply for the attainment of physical welfare, decency, comfort, and luxury, that education is advocated. One who has given time and thought to the study of philosophy, who has called together scholars to help in the revival of the study of the ancient Sanskrit literature of India, knows that culture is something more profound and more sublime than such externals. This view of culture is never forgotten whatever the particular subject of the moment and it comes to frequent expression in the Mahâràja's utterances. In many practical achievements of his

reign which do not receive any mention in these two volumes this attitude is apparent, as, for example, in what he has done for art in the beautiful picture gallery and for scientific interest and intellectual curiosity in the well-equipped museum, which he has established in Baroda. But more than all it is seen in the place he accords to personal character as being of more consequence than and independent of the particular position, high or low, rich or poor, which the individual may occupy in the community. He is himself a man of astonishing insight into personal character. Of charitable sentiment, he is convinced that many forms of charity traditional in India have done much to undermine the moral fibre of large sections of the community. Teaching self-help, he has rarely been appealed to in vain for support on behalf of deserving causes.

It will perhaps be said by those who know him best, that the Maharaja is restless. It is true. It is the fault of his virtues: the weakness of his strength. It is a characteristic of the spirit of the age which has seen petrol and electricity hasten a thousand-fold the external movements of mankind; it is a characteristic of the spirit of the age in which from the printing press there come many times a day ephemeral records of the continuous stream of events. For the subjects of his State, it is fortunate that the Maharaja has not followed a long tradition in accordance with which many of the greatest men in the history of India have renounced so-called worldly affairs in order to seek personal peace and rest in a contemplation of the ultimate Reality. His Highness shares the restlessness of the West; his critical mind will not allow him to acquiesce in the practices and tenets of religion as traditionally presented. There is, however, as his keen sense of duty itself indicates, much which reveals

that he is a deeply religious man. And it is this which makes him feel that great though the values of modern Humanism are, they are not in themselves completely satisfying. Were he not at heart fundamentally religious, he might have found full satisfaction in his work and in the enjoyments which his wealth can command. His religious feeling admitted, it may be that, as many of the noblest minds of to-day in East and West, he has not yet attained to a modern way of expressing to himself what religion truly implies. Mere tradition can satisfy him here as little as on any side of life, and occupied so continuously with the practical affairs of State, he has perchance not yet arrived at the peace which an acceptable view of religion often brings. That is a personal sacrifice he has made in the performance of the onerous duties of his position. Nevertheless, His Highness is still mentally fresh and active, and it is not impossible that he may yet express, for himself and his people, ideas on this fundamental subject as inspiring as those which on so many other things he presents to us in the pages that follow.

I

In the year 1877 Her Majesty Queen Victoria assumed the title of Empress of India. At the invitation of His Excellency the Viceroy, Lord Lytton,* His Highness the Maharaja attended an Imperial Assembly at Delhi on the 1st of January at which the Royal Proclamation† was made. On the 5th of February at Baroda at a celebration of the event, Raja Sir T. Madhavrao, the Dewan of Baroda, addressed those present on behalf of His Highness.

MR MELVILL‡ AND GENTLEMEN,—The signal event, for the local celebration of which we are here assembled, marks the completion and consolidation of a mighty political fabric—a fabric which, in magnitude and magnificence, may indeed have its equal in historic memory, but which in the superior qualities of compact strength and moral grandeur remains unrivalled and even unapproached.

Queen Victoria has become the Empress of India. The announcement has been hailed with joy from one end of India to the other, because Her Majesty has assumed this additional title not to assert any new right, not to supersede any existing engagements, not to impose any new obligations, but graciously to express in a more tangible form a closer union between this great country and the British Crown. That precious political possession of ours—the Queen's proclamation of 1858—which we cherish with all

* Lord Lytton, Viceroy and Governor General of India, 1876–1880.

† The Royal Proclamation of the 1st of January 1877 here referred to and that of 1858 mentioned in the Speech being interesting documents appertaining to the relations between the Imperial Power and the Rulers of the Indian States are given *in extenso* in an appendix at the end of this volume.

‡ Philip Sandys Melvill, Agent to the Governor General, Baroda, 1875–1882.

the pleasure and with all the jealousy known to the owners of precious things, maintains the integrity of its pledges and will be as enduring as British honour, good faith and beneficence.

We know, we feel, and we graciously acknowledge the characteristics of the protecting pre-eminence symbolised by the imperial title. There is overwhelming strength, formidable only to turbulence, tyranny, and lawless ambition. There is wisdom, drawing its tribute from the experience and from the philosophy of all climes and all ages. There is justice which holds the balance even, for differing races, conflicting creeds, and diversified interests. And there is a catholic benevolence ever on the watch to mitigate misery and to increase enjoyment. All combined have raised a lofty ideal of imperial duty, which a loyal, trained and talented service is incessantly striving to approach.

The result of these continued conditions must be a solid system welded together by the strongest reciprocal interests —a system proof alike against disintegrating forces within and aggressive forces from without. Let then the high and the low, the prince and the peasant, the Maratha, the Muslim, the Rajput, the Parsi—all the constituents of the vast and varied Indian population—fervently pray for the permanence of a political organisation which most suits all and the least conflicts with any; pray that Providence, which wills the progressive happiness of mankind, will not fail to bless the power which conscientiously, and consistently, with undeviating purpose, strives to promote the welfare of so large a section of the human race.

II

On the 1st of January 1878 Her Imperial Majesty the Queen-Empress instituted the Imperial Order of the Crown of India, consisting of the Queen-Empress, some Royal Princesses, female relatives of some Indian Princes, and ladies who have held conspicuous offices in India and performed eminent service for it. Her Imperial Majesty having been pleased to confer the honour of membership of the Order upon the beloved mother of the Maharaja, a Durbar was held on the 6th of July 1878 when the badge of the Order—the royal cipher in jewels within an oval surmounted by a heraldic crown and attached to a bow of light blue watered ribbon edged with white—was formally presented by the Resident. His Highness rose and made a short Speech of acknowledgment and appreciation of the honour shown to his family.

MR MELVILL AND GENTLEMEN,—This is, indeed, a proud day for us. The honour which has just been conferred on my beloved and respected mother will always be cherished as a precious possession. The marks of favour and consideration we have received during these three years have brought us nearer to that throne which is the seat of unsurpassed power, justice, and benevolence. Her Most Gracious Majesty the Empress will always command our deep gratitude and devotion.

III

His Highness laid the Foundation Stone of the Baroda College, a magnificent and imposing structure, on the 8th of January 1879, and the following Address was read on his behalf by the Dewan, Raja Sir T. Madhavrao:

MR MELVILL, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—Everything in the circumstances of this gathering is calculated to emphasise the significance of the occasion. Rulers and subjects, Europeans and Asiatics, Liberals and Conservatives, all more or

less marked with diversities, have united at this time to render homage to the great cause of education. This in a native Indian State is a peculiarly interesting and encouraging spectacle. Education is all-important to India. It is the lever—the only lever—by which this vast country can be extricated from that stationary condition in which it has remained through incalculable ages. It is therefore the duty of everyone earnestly to promote education. The education of the masses is certainly very important, but my profound conviction is that the higher education, though necessarily of a small number, is still more important in the present condition and circumstances of India. I feel convinced that one native Indian to whom higher education has been imparted at an expense of Rs. 1000 contributes infinitely more to the general progress of the community than 333 natives only slightly or superficially educated at a charge of Rs. 3 per head. I put it purposely in the dry arithmetical form. The truth is, a certain force is required to break the iron chains of intellectual bondage, and mere elementary education fails to generate the required force.

I have availed myself of this opportunity to give expression to my conviction in this respect all the more readily, because there seems to be latterly a disposition in certain parts of India to advocate breadth of education at the expense of its elevation. This is neither the time nor the place to enter into any argument or controversy on the subject. I have simply expressed my personal conviction, and will only assure you that it is the result of careful observation and reflection, and of some native insight into the conditions of the problem. While then we exert ourselves commensurately with our resources to give lateral expansion to education, we recognise even more fully the superior

importance of a vertical development of the same. Hence it is that we are this day to lay the foundation of a building which will, indeed, at first accommodate our High School, but which has been really designed to answer the more extensive requirements of a college, which is fairly in prospect under the able and zealous direction of our Principal, Mr Tait.

The college building has been designed by the able architect Mr Chisholm, of Madras, in an acceptable Oriental style and is expected to cost about four lakhs of rupees. Let us hope that the sustained energy of Mr Bill and of his staff will hasten the day when we shall meet here again for the opening of the completed fabric.

At the close of the proceedings, the Dewan said that they hoped that long before a single hair of his head assumed a silver hue, His Highness would enjoy the proud satisfaction of seeing himself surrounded by numbers of his countrymen of high intellectual training, of unsurpassed probity and principle, and of abundant practical ability to assist him in the good government of his kingdom, all gratefully owning themselves to be graduates of the Baroda College.

IV

The Public Park at Baroda, of nearly 113 acres in extent, is of exceptional beauty, being a triumph of the gardener's art making full use of the original natural beauty of the area. It contains within it not only a zoological collection housed in almost natural conditions, but also a bandstand, tennis courts and other facilities for games, and further, a museum and a picture gallery rising up as architectural masterpieces in truly glorious surroundings. The Public Park was formally opened by His Highness on the 8th of January 1879.

MR MELVILL, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—We all like fresh air, green grass, and pretty flowers. But in this large city there

are many people, and they live very close together. Many are not rich enough to have gardens attached to their houses, and no one is so rich as to have a large garden like this. All, therefore, may come here, with their children, spend a little time pleasantly and return home in better health and better temper. Excepting the pavilion, which must be reserved to myself, I have great pleasure in bestowing for ever the whole of this garden on my beloved people and the public in general.

V

On the 6th of January 1880 His Highness married a princess of the House of Tanjore in the Madras Presidency, and shortly afterwards, on the 16th, at a Banquet attended by His Excellency the Governor of Bombay, Sir Richard Temple*, His Highness responded to the Toast to his health and happiness.

YOUR EXCELLENCY, MR MELVILL, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—Again I thank you for your many good wishes and cordial congratulations. Our joyous festivities are drawing to a close, and I am sorry to think that many of us will soon part company. Whether it is for a short time only that we are to separate, or for ever, I can only say this that I hope you will long remember with pleasure your visit to Baroda, when an old year was passing smoothly into a new, and we of this State were looking confidently through changes into the future. I bid those of you who are going "God speed". Her Highness the Maharani joins heartily with me in my farewell.

* Sir Richard Temple, Governor of Bombay, 1875–1880.

VI

On the 28th of December 1881 His Highness was invested with full powers of Government by Sir James Fergusson*, Governor of Bombay, who performed the ceremony at the request of the Viceroy† who was unable to be present. At a Banquet in celebration of this significant event, His Highness in proposing the Toast to the health of his guest made a brief Speech.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I rise with the greatest pleasure to propose the health of our distinguished guest, His Excellency, the Right Honourable, Sir James Fergusson.

His Excellency Lord Ripon has kindly intimated that it is only the pressure of other engagements that has prevented His Lordship's being personally present on this occasion. We can easily imagine how many, how various, are the matters which compete for the attention of the Viceroy of Her Majesty's Indian Empire, and what little opportunity His Excellency has to indulge his own personal inclinations. But we may rest assured of this that at all places and at all times Lord Ripon is an earnest well-wisher of the Baroda State and will, as such, gladly do all in his power towards the promotion of its welfare.

It has been the good fortune of Baroda that three successive Viceroys—Lord Northbrook‡, Lord Lytton, and Lord Ripon—have felt a more than ordinary interest in its affairs. Lord Northbrook's name will undoubtedly be associated in history with the inauguration of the greatest reforms in the administration of this State. Under the auspices of His Lordship's successors, the new departure has received due development; and Lord Ripon will be gratefully remembered

* Sir James Fergusson, Governor of Bombay, 1880–1885.
† Lord Ripon, Viceroy and Governor General of India, 1880–1884.
‡ Lord Northbrook, Viceroy and Governor General of India, 1872–1876.

in connection with the event, in the celebration of which you have all been so good as to join me.

It is a source of the greatest pleasure to me that the Governor of Bombay represents the Viceroy of India on this occasion. Sir James Fergusson has performed his part in a manner so kind and felicitous that I am sure His Excellency's name and the event of this morning will always go together in my memory. I hope that His Excellency, too, will have reason to look back with interest on this his first visit to Baroda, and that the leading part he has taken in launching me on my public career will induce him all the more to contribute his good offices with a view to the success of that career. For, intermixed as Baroda and British territories are, we shall need a large share of sympathy and friendly aid from the Government of which His Excellency is the distinguished head.

With these sentiments, and confident of eliciting from you the most cordial response, I propose the health of His Excellency Sir James Fergusson.

VII

Representatives of the inhabitants of Gujarat, in which the State of Baroda is the premier Indian State, presented to the Maharaja an Address on the 29th of December 1881, to which His Highness graciously replied:

GENTLEMEN,—I thank you sincerely for your kind Address and for the good wishes therein expressed. I am delighted to find that the people of Gujarat feel so keen an interest in the welfare of the Baroda State. I am deeply sensible of the grave responsibilities of my position. My task is a difficult one, but nothing can be more agreeable to me than to strive to promote the well-being of my subjects. I trust

that, under the blessing of Providence, I may be able to fulfil, in a measure, the reasonable expectations of all my well-wishers.

VIII

On the same occasion, in connection with his attainment of full powers, the Sarvajanik Sabha of Poona, a Marathi society for social advance and general progress, sent a delegation with an Address to His Highness, who in receiving the Address said:

GENTLEMEN,—Accept my cordial thanks for the Address you have just presented. It is gratifying to me in no small degree to receive congratulations and good wishes from such a well-known association of Poona, the most important centre of the Marathi population.

Let me assure you that I am fully impressed with the importance of the public duties and responsibilities which devolve on me from this period. Indeed, I feel so much impressed that I sincerely pray to the Almighty to give me sufficient strength to fulfil them. The primary and paramount aim of my life will be to preserve and promote the welfare of my beloved subjects according to their well-regulated wishes and under the cardinal principles of our enlightened age. Trying as my task will be, I confidently rely on the sympathy and moral support of all classes of people.

IX

Deeply impressed by the fundamental importance of a plentiful supply of pure water for his subjects, the Maharaja initiated enquiries soon after his accession as to the manner in which the needs of the inhabitants of his capital city numbering approximately 100,000 could be most satisfactorily met. After the consideration of different schemes, at the earliest opportunity he gave orders for the damming of the Surya river and the Vagali Nala

about twelve and a half miles from the city, and for the construction of the necessary filter beds and other waterworks. The undertaking which cost over £2,000,000 sterling was inaugurated on the 8th of January 1885, when Lady Watson, the wife of General Sir John Watson* turned the first sod. On this occasion His Highness made the following speech in reply to an Address from the citizens of Baroda:

GENERAL WATSON, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—It is with hearty pleasure that I welcome all who have come here from Baroda to-day to witness the start of the most costly and most important work of public utility that has been devised since my accession. It will be with still heartier pleasure that I shall summon you again at no distant date. For I shall not suffer that there should be any delay in this work, so that in the shortest time we may watch the pure stream reach the centre of my capital. Baroda will be blessed with an abundance of wholesome drinking water, and the greatest of the measures I am designing for the benefit of its inhabitants will be an accomplished fact.

Of the city which is the seat of the Government, I cannot make a commercial centre, though I may be able to introduce some manufactures into it, of which the existing cotton mill is the first sign. But I can and shall improve its condition. We may look forward to the time when the drainage of Baroda will be satisfactory, when its markets and main streets will be broad and pleasant, when its public buildings will be spacious, when the approaches to it from the surrounding country will be numerous and easy. No undue haste will be allowed to vitiate real progress.

This scheme, of which we are witnessing the start to-day, has been deliberately elaborated. You have mentioned how

* Sir John Watson, Agent to the Governor General, Baroda, 1882–1886.

His Highness Khanderao Maharaja thought of going south to the Narbada for water; how the late Minister thought of going north to the Mahi; how he searched high on Powaghad and low in the bowels of the earth; how finally, the countryside was ranged till the modest and useful Surya was found able to satisfy our wants. It has, therefore, been with deliberation, but without loss of time, that the greatest of all the measures I can adopt for the improvement of Baroda has been taken.

And I may add, the gradual amelioration of the condition of the capital will not be allowed to retard the development of the resources of the State, throughout which large public works have been or will shortly be started. These are being undertaken with deliberation and with economy, and precedence will be given to those projects which promise the most solid results. The engineers, Mr Reynolds and Mr Jagannath Sadashivji, will have our cordial support, as they have our thanks for all that has been well considered so far.

X

As a definite beginning of the carrying out of his intention to provide the people of his city and his state with the best which modern science and practice can provide for the prevention and remedy of disease, His Highness shortly after coming into power ordered the building of a hospital. The building, completed in 1886, was opened by His Excellency the Viceroy Lord Dufferin* who visited Baroda from the 8th to the 10th of November. His Highness was pleased that the hospital should be called after the name of Her Excellency the Countess of Dufferin. The hospital then founded has become a part of a large group of buildings constituting the State General Hospital which for its equipment

* Lord Dufferin, Viceroy and Governor General of India, 1884–1888.

and organisation ranks among the premier institutions of its kind in India.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,—I thank you for your presence here to-day, and for the countenance Your Excellency has given to our endeavours to improve the city of Baroda. We need encouragement, for the task before us is a long and tedious one. Hitherto our attention has been centred chiefly on the provision of an adequate supply of pure drinking water and to the building of the Laxmi Vilas Palace. The college, the public park, the Government offices, schools, dispensaries, cavalry lines outside the town, have, it is true, been constructed. But what I look forward to most is the broadening of our streets, and, let us hope with the spontaneous assistance of the inhabitants, some improvement in the style and the solidity of our ordinary shops and dwellings.

I would remind my subjects that it is not in Baroda alone that public works are being pushed on. Much is being done in the districts. With pleasure I notice the rapid progress of the Mehsana Vadnagar line, one only, let us hope, of the many railway branches of the future. This hospital will bear the honoured name of Her Excellency, in order that this auspicious visit may for ever be recorded, and Lady Dufferin's exertions in the cause of the women of India may be gratefully remembered in Baroda.

XI

A Banquet was given in honour of His Excellency Lord Dufferin on the occasion of his visit to Baroda in November 1886, and in proposing the Toast to his health His Highness the Maharaja said:

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I am proud to be able at last to welcome His Excellency as my guest. Never before has a Viceroy of India visited our State. Never before have we

had the opportunity of receiving with all possible honours the representative of our Gracious Empress, the revered Lady and Sovereign, the Jubilee year of whose reign is soon to be solemnised as one of the most fortunate, the most glorious, and the most beneficial the world has ever seen. To-day, in proposing the health of His Excellency, I may give what expression I am able to the feelings of profound satisfaction which move my family when we realise the position we hold in Imperial India. The greatness and the unity of the British Empire have just been signalised in London through the exertions of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and I wish to-day to recall with gratitude the name of the Prince who visited Baroda when I was still a boy. I beg His Excellency to receive my heartiest thanks for his visit, and to believe that it will long be remembered among us as a signal honour and a token of his regard and friendship for the State of Baroda. Ladies and Gentlemen, the health of His Excellency.

As indicating the impression which the conditions at Baroda made upon the Viceroy at this date in contrast with those at the time of His Highness' accession, the following reply is reproduced from the volume *Speeches delivered in India*, 1884–1888, by the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava, London 1890.

"YOUR HIGHNESS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—In rising to acknowledge the Toast which you have been good enough to propose in such kind and cordial terms, I naturally desire to take this opportunity of expressing the extreme satisfaction I have had in making Your Highness' personal acquaintance in the midst of your State and of your capital, discharging those great and responsible duties pertaining to your station with an intelligence and conscientiousness which are beyond all praise. There is nothing which can be so entirely satisfactory to the representative of Her Majesty in this country, as to find the Princes of India, upon whose friendship and allegiance Her Majesty so implicitly relies, in such complete

possession as is Your Highness of the respect alike both of his English and native fellow-subjects. When I came to Baroda and saw on every side so many signs of improvement and of progress—magnificent buildings of great public utility rising in every direction, with every provision made for the health, as well as for the gratification, of the people—when I found Your Highness surrounded by a contented population whose prosperity and personal affection for Your Highness it was impossible to mistake or misapprehend, I then indeed felt fully confirmed in that opinion which I had already been led to entertain of Your Highness; and I go away convinced that, in Your Highness, India is blessed with one of those wise, high-minded, and conscientious rulers whose life is a blessing to their people, and whose co-operation with the Government of India is more calculated than anything else to assist us in the performance of our own onerous and important duties.

"I have noted with much satisfaction the loyal and affectionate terms in which you have been good enough to allude to Her Majesty the Queen-Empress; and it will be my pleasant duty, on the very first occasion, to make Her Majesty acquainted with the expressions which have fallen from Your Highness' lips. I am also pleased to acknowledge the friendly manner in which you have referred to the Prince of Wales, and I may mention that before leaving England, His Royal Highness laid upon me his command to remember him to all those Princes of whose hospitality he had partaken, and of whose friendship he was so proud.

"In conclusion, I would desire, not only in my own name, but on behalf of all those who are here present—and I am sure I am expressing what they feel very deeply—to return our warmest thanks for the spectacle which you have offered to our admiring gaze—a spectacle which has not consisted in useless and meretricious pageantry, but which presents the far more solid and agreeable sight of a prosperous and flourishing country with every sign of improvement and progress, educational establishments, hospitals, a magnificent park for the delectation of the people; and last, but not least, a semicircle of 4000 children assembled under the auspices of your Educational Department. I do not think it has

ever fallen to me or to any of us in a single day to see so many sights which have occasioned us such real or such legitimate pleasure. And now, ladies and gentlemen, in conclusion, it only remains for me to propose the health of the Maharaja". (Loud applause.)

XII

A Banquet was held on the 1st of January 1890 at which were present His Excellency the Governor of Bombay* and Lady Reay. After proposing in sincere and dignified terms the health of Her Gracious Majesty the Queen and Empress of India, His Highness proposed the Toast to the health of the distinguished guests of the evening: Their Excellencies.

SIR HARRY PRENDERGAST,† LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I now rise to propose the health of our distinguished guests, Lord and Lady Reay. We are not met to celebrate any great political occasion to-day, but for the more homely pleasure of welcoming as valued personal friends Their Excellencies the Governor and Lady Reay—a pleasure that is not unmixed with regret, for it is not only to visit us, but to bid us farewell, that we see Lord and Lady Reay once more in our midst. Ladies and Gentlemen, I am heartily glad that they have honoured my State with this farewell visit before their departure home. I trust that, for many happy years to come, they may look back to their life in India with none but pleasant memories, and that they may ever continue to feel, as at present, a kindly interest in all connected with this country. Ladies and Gentlemen, I ask you to join me in the Toast of "Lord and Lady Reay" and in wishing them a very happy new year, and many such.

* Lord Reay, Governor of Bombay, 1885–1890.

† Sir Harry North Dalrymple Prendergast, Agent to the Governor General, Baroda, 1889–1890.

XIII

On the 29th of March 1892 there was a formal inauguration of the supply of the water to the city of Baroda from the reservoir at Ajwa, the commencement of which had been celebrated in 1885. To the State officials and the general public assembled on this noteworthy occasion His Highness indicated some of his ideas and his hopes for the welfare of his subjects, and exhorted them to rise to their opportunities and to give him their best assistance.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—Though Mr Lynn rightly places this scheme amongst the earliest I considered, I must allow, that chronologically, it was my railways that first occupied my thoughts. I am right glad that I have already seen 118 miles of railway constructed and can look forward to further progress. It is not only that the public convenience has been consulted, but my scattered dominions are now linked together by the iron road, to the improvement of the administration of the headquarters of my *talukas*. These are now tied together—Patan, Sidhpur, Kheralu, Vadnagar, Visnagar, Mehsana, Kalol, Petlad, Baroda, Dabhoi, Sankheda, Karjan, Navsari, Gandevi, and in the near future, I hope, many other places will also be. But to-day I put the thought of my railways aside and joyfully confess that I look upon the Ajwa reservoir and this water scheme as the most important single public work brought to completion since my accession to power.

I am well content with your suggestion that the artificial lake should be called the "Sayaji Sarovar", and so let it be. But in my mind I shall associate with this work the names of Mr Playford Reynolds and Mr Jagannath Sadashivji. The Laxmi Vilas Palace has, perhaps, cost more, but I cannot strictly place among works of public utility the construction of that richly chiselled pile and of the costly Makarpura

Palace, now encircled by the tasteful gardens we owe to Mr Goldring. No, it is this gift of pure filtered water that I am most pleased to have bestowed upon the capital. The great domed College, the Countess of Dufferin Hospital, the School whose tower we can discern from here on the bank of the reservoir which my predecessor gave to Baroda, the Chimnabai Market which will cover all the space on which we stand, the Museum in the Public Park, the vast public offices which are in contemplation, all these monuments of my friend Mr Chisholm's skill are works of utility and adornment to Baroda and will be revealed to us as one harmonious whole, when, after solving our next great difficulty, the proper conservancy of the city, we shall rapidly widen and readjust our main streets and communications according to plans I have long since matured. But all these to my mind are nought, compared with this blessing of pure water, the first requisite of sanitary well-being: abundance of water, sanitary reform, these are the good things I wish to give my people in profusion.'

This water scheme is but the foremost instance of what I am doing or hope to do for all the 3500 towns and villages of the State. Good wells are being provided for all villages which have not yet got them, few in number as such villages are. Except where water is quite close to the surface or where a river flows past the village site, means have been provided, from Rs. 6 to Rs. 8 per 100 of population, for the drawing of water from the well morning and evening to supply the people and the village cattle. As for sanitation, a great army of scavengers will soon, I trust, be called into existence to be disciplined by special officers. Rs. 8 per 100 of population are to be devoted to the purposes in all villages, while in the market towns I have just doubled the

conservancy funds, and I look to the *Panches*, my civil surgeons, and the newly created Sanitary Commissioner, to see that these funds are turned to good use under the clear and simple rules which I hope my people will study.

It is the co-operation of my people which I require to gain for them the advantages of physical health. Some simple book learning, therefore, I wish the masses to acquire that I may take them into my confidence and partnership. I am, as you know, all for publishing the laws, the regulations, the acts, the appointments of Government; but will the masses learn to avail themselves of the information? I entertain the hope that they will do so, however chimerical it may appear.

In this city and in most of the big towns there are now many schools, some of them advanced. Our Baroda College now teaches up to the second year B.A. and B.Sc.; institutions have been called into existence for the study of handicrafts, for that of agriculture, for that of law, and even for that of music. Books are being compiled and books are being translated. So we do not think of expansion alone. Our habit of occasionally sending a few selected pupils to Europe, there to receive a generous teaching, proves that. But I will say that, after the multiplication of girls' schools, there is no measure I have more at heart than the dissemination of primary education among *bona fide* cultivators, and more especially, by gifts and other inducements, among the depressed classes of my subjects. I have lately promised to subsidise a schoolmaster and to aid the school with books, slates and other necessaries for any village which will supply a regular attendance of at least sixteen pupils. Let my people take advantage of this offer of assistance. I note that within the last two months 128 villages have opened each

its little school. The movement is in its infancy. Requests for schools are pouring in. I want and expect to see hundreds of villages develop themselves intelligently.

It is in order to encourage self-help that I have issued orders intended to give fresh life to the village community, headed by the *Patels*, assisted by the *Panch*. The salaries of the *Patels* throughout the State are being uniformly raised, and to the village police guard is now apportioned 4 per cent. of the entire revenue paid by the village to Government. I trust that these and some other similar measures, such as the apportionment to each community of a *Devasthan* Fund, will lead to good government, security, and helpful activity. Remember that the Government aid cannot go very far, it depends mainly upon you to turn its assistance to good account.

Physical improvement, mental development, the independence of self-help, cannot, I am aware, be expected so long as the State lays upon its subjects a crushing taxation. It has, therefore, been my task to reduce the aggregate Government demand while equalising it as far as possible, spreading its burden over many shoulders, and at the same time simplifying the demand so that both Government and the tax-payer may know what each man pays and why. This is why I have reduced the tax on Government lands, by from 10 to 50 per cent. and more, in the great majority of villages now surveyed and settled. This is why I have called on alienated lands to contribute a share of the revenue, granting at the same time to their landlords *sanads*, which make their position more secure than it has hitherto been. This is why I propose to regulate the dues of the non-agricultural community. This is why at one stroke of the pen I wrote off 23 lakhs of arrears due to the State by cul-

tivators. This is why I have patiently heard and brought to a close, once and for all, the thousands of disputes which had been left to simmer for a quarter of a century between Government and my subjects, regarding the rates and tenures of certain lands.

We start afresh, my people and I. Each man will now be called on to pay in accordance with a simple demand, based on clear grounds, publicly set forth. Here let me put in a hearty word of thanks to Mr Elliot for the assistance he has given me in these measures. I repeat that it is my desire to take my people into my confidence by publishing the acts of Government so that all who wish may read and criticise. I own that recent changes have produced a momentary sense of confusion and disturbance which, I trust, will subside as the years go by, giving way to a feeling of general contentment. I own that in many directions Government is still groping for a way to rule wisely. Have patience. Let time show the real value of what is now being done. I assure you that all my energies are being devoted to free and enrich my people, and to improve the machinery of the administration.

You are aware how, within the last year, export dues have been almost entirely swept away, and the range of import dues is shortly to be greatly restricted, and how many small imposts have been abolished. Some of you may also be aware of what I propose to do to relieve *Inamdars* and others of their burden of debt. The measure has been lately published. Others may have noticed the tentative efforts of the State Bank, and the freer hand with which *taccavi* advances are made. This and other measures are being undertaken to free you, while to enrich you I have caused, and am causing, great drainage works to be made. I am making an

endeavour to conserve our forests, to push on agricultural experiments, to discover what riches, if any, the earth holds for us in her bosom; in short, to utilise within the State the savings from my revenues.

As for the machinery of Government, I own that in some fear and trembling I am attempting to decentralise and at the same time to supervise. The new Small Cause Court system and the bench system for civil and criminal cases; the separation of the judicial from the executive branch; and the *Panchayat* system are among the efforts I am making to improve and simplify our administration. We stand at the very threshold of reform. The basis of a tolerable administration is the business-like keeping of accounts. We needed improvement in this respect, and perhaps we shall obtain it with Mr Anna Bhivrao's help, especially as we have confessed our shortcomings to Rajaninath Roy, who has suggested remedies, for which I owe him acknowledgments. But to do better in future, we must aim high, very high. We must use more despatch, summon up more courage, enforce and submit to more discipline, cherish more public spirit. Then will the stream of our progress flow smoothly and pure, and reach all our homes, as does this water from Ajwa which cleanses our lips, fortifies our bodies, and bids our spirits rejoice.

XIV

Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Elgin* were entertained by His Highness at a Banquet in the Laxmi Vilas Palace at Baroda on the 29th of November 1896. The hall was gorgeously decorated and brilliantly illuminated for the occasion, the scene being a grand and dazzling one, the whole place being converted into a fairy land.

* Lord Elgin, Viceroy and Governor General of India, 1894–1899.

His Highness first proposed the Toast to the health and long life of Her Majesty the Queen-Empress:

YOUR EXCELLENCIES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—At all times it is my most pleasing duty to propose the Toast to the health of the Queen-Empress. The pleasure is a thousand-fold enhanced on the present occasion by the fact that Her Majesty's reign is now the longest as well as the most glorious in the history of England, while it has been, and is, the most beneficent in the annals of India. May Her Majesty be long spared to rule over her vast empire.

XIV*a*

His Highness next proposed the Toast to the health of his illustrious guests, Lord and Lady Elgin, saying:

YOUR EXCELLENCIES,—Ten years have rolled by since I had the pleasure of welcoming on a similar occasion Your Excellency's distinguished predecessor the Marquis of Dufferin, who was the first Viceroy to visit the city. Whatever changes may have taken place in the country during this period, the Baroda Raj in its loyalty and friendship to the British Throne is as firm and unflinching now as it ever was; indeed, our affection for and veneration of the Sovereign Lady are growing deeper and deeper daily. It is, therefore, a matter of great satisfaction to me to welcome Her Majesty's representative in my capital, and thus to renew the acquaintance it was a privilege to make at Poona last year. I will not detain you with a long speech, but merely express on my own and on the Maharani's behalf the gratification we feel at Lady Elgin's visit to our capital. I beg once more to offer to Her Ladyship and to Your Excellency our heartiest welcome.

XV

At the opening of the Sayaji Vihar Club on the 10th of April 1899 the Maharaja made the following speech. Since the opening of the club His Highness has never lost an opportunity of allying himself with its interests, and of personally visiting it, honouring its members with cordial friendliness and fellowship.

GENTLEMEN,—It was at your request that some time ago I laid the foundation stone of this building. It is again at your request that I am here to open your club. I congratulate you on the final completion of the building and on the inauguration of a laudable social undertaking, which I sincerely hope will bear all the wholesome fruits which such an institution is meant to produce. Some years have elapsed since the building was commenced; but let us hope that the proverb, "Rome was not built in a day", will apply here in its best sense and that if its completion has been a little tardy, so its career will be fortunate and lasting.

You will not perhaps think it out of place, if I remind you of some of those objects which an institution like this is intended to serve. A club is the expression of the most natural and universal impulse of gregarious mankind, the impulse of man to seek the society of his fellows. That is his most essential happiness.

Once conscious of it, he is always trying to find the best means of satisfying this instinct. In olden times it found an outlet chiefly in family and village life, but formal institutions to bring together those who are connected not merely by the accident of birth or residence but by similar culture, objects or pursuits, come with a more complex civilisation. We naturally feel the want of such institutions when we pass outside the limits of the family circle. The more varied our lives and the more our interests are multiplied and differ-

entiated, the more numerous and diverse in kind clubs become.

Now-a-days even women need their clubs. In the present age "the new woman" has appeared seeming to aspire not only to rival man, but if possible to bring about a reversal of the present mutual relation. In Europe women have their own exclusive clubs, and even our ladies are fast copying their sisters of the West. It is to be hoped that our society in attempting to assimilate this change will not suffer from a severe and fatal indigestion.

Though in olden times clubs did not exist under the present name or in a formal manner, the thing itself has been always with us. Men once congregated under canvas roofs, under banyan trees, under the open roof of heaven, often even in cellars, and in secret places of the earth. Now, with the increase of peace and material wealth and security, they meet in splendid and ornamental buildings furnished with all the comforts and appliances of a luxurious and finished civilisation.

The objects of such institutions remain after all essentially the same, however much the form, manner and the place may vary. Those objects are as various as the activities of civic society: literary, sporting, medical, religious and political clubs are only a few of the multifarious varieties. We all know what potent dynamic forces the last two kinds have been in the history of human society, and what sinister forms one of them has taken when repressed by superior authority, or when struggling against the sympathies of the major part of the community. The club as we now have it is an institution on the Western model. In our country we had our castes and met under the roofs of influential men. Europe had its castes in the shape of guilds, but while there the

institution liquefied and disappeared, with us it has solidified perhaps beyond what is quite compatible with the laws of nature and the needs of humanity. But to-day, under the impact of Western ideas, our form of social unions is weakened and crumbling; so the more need of clubs like these, that we may replace where we cannot save those elements of the old society which met an imperative social want.

Purely social clubs such as this we are now opening, though their results are not so obvious and striking, have effects which are as pervasive, if more subtle, and have the advantage of being almost always peaceful and beneficent. Their effect is to humanise and harmonise society by that free and kindly intercourse and interchange of thought, which civilised and enlightened society demands, and for the sake of which it encourages such institutions. They help to remove the sharp angles men present to each other, to make them comrades or at least good companions.

Let me express a hope that this is the result towards which the present institution will work. There have been clubs which have rather deserved the name of scandal clubs, into which the envy and backbiting too common in the outer world have been brought. This institution will, I am sure, be a very different one. Its members will leave outside when they enter it all jarring feelings if any such exist, and when they leave it will carry with them into the outer world all the good feelings which it serves to promote—peace, amity and concord.

If your club is not so splendid as some, it is such a one as a town like this may not unreasonably be proud to possess. I gladly observe that you have recognised the liberal support given to you by the Government in allowing you the land free and meeting half the cost of the building and appreciate

its desire not merely to pay and employ you, but to promote your health and happiness. I cannot conclude without heartily thanking on your behalf the generous subscribers to the fund for this erection.

XVI

In 1900 the State of Baroda suffered severely from a serious famine, and His Highness ordered the construction of the Orsang Irrigation Waterworks as part of the measures of relief undertaken. At the opening of this work, the Maharaja, rising amid the cheers of those assembled, addressed them:

GENTLEMEN,—My first duty before opening this work to-day is a very pleasant one. It is to thank the officers to whose exertions and intelligence the institution of this work is mainly due. And first I have to thank Mr Khaserao for his suggestion of the idea. The acuteness and intelligence which made him perceive the possibilities of the site deserve every praise. (Cheers.) I have also to thank the engineers for the zeal and energy with which they have arranged the details of the scheme. Their professional ability has given a working shape to an excellent and highly practicable idea. Their example is worthy of imitation—both the mental activity and shrewdness that suggested and the professional talent and energy which worked out the scheme. I trust that its execution will be as sound and thorough as its development so far, and that I may again have occasion to thank them for completing ably what they have so ably initiated. (Cheers.)

The relief work I am opening to-day is of some magnitude. Beneficial results beyond mere temporary relief are expected from it. Such an undertaking is eminently suited to the needs and warnings of the terrible visitation under which the country is suffering. This present famine is one which

falls with a lamentably heavy insistence on man, cattle and field. The drought has dried up the land like some terrific and all-pervading curse. It has destroyed not only the objects of agriculture, but also many of its living instruments. It threatens to impoverish the future even as it is devastating the present. Not only that: it is also of the nature of a divine warning. For it points with terrible emphasis to the disastrous economic condition of the people, on which all progress and Government ultimately rest. It warns both Government and people that this great problem must be speedily grappled with. If from indolence or ignorance they neglect it, it will be to their peril of stagnation, deterioration and decay.

When face to face with a calamity of this sort, the first pressing need a Government feels is to relieve the stricken population in whose welfare it feels its own involved. Taking this task by itself and excluding for a moment wider considerations, we have to notice that there are different methods of meeting the problem. The danger is that, in the first pressing impulse to do something, administrations may be led to adopt a programme which fits more or less adequately the immediate want but has no eye to the future. This they are especially likely to do if they are unprepared for a great calamity.

Two things only can help us to avoid mistakes of this sort: experience well used, or an intelligent and scientific spirit of administration. To us, experience of famine—that bitter teacher—has been wanting, at least famine on any large scale. Never before within the memory of more than a generation has the scourge fallen so heavily on this fertile province. And this is a deficiency on which we may congratulate ourselves.

But an administration so situated should be all the more careful to study the experience of less favoured regions. It should forecast wisely, though not dogmatically, the probable extent of the evil. It should suit its programme thereto, though always ready to modify or develop as circumstances demand. It should weigh carefully the different methods of relief open to it, use all skilfully and prudently, encouraging pre-eminently those which are most pregnant of future benefit.

The officers of the administration should avoid on the one hand the cast-iron routine, the tendency to which is dis-hearteningly oppressive; and on the other hand, the extreme of hasty superficial work should be equally avoided. They should ascertain and master the general lines of policy to be followed. They should guide themselves along them with an eye to testing them by practical facts, and they should always be ready to offer fruitful and well-considered suggestions. Mistakes in details, unsuccessful tentatives will probably be inevitable at first. But a firm grasp of principles joined to a keen eye and an open mind will surely remove all defects. These qualities, aided by fuller experience, will ensure, we may fairly hope, as harmonious and perfect a system as is humanly possible.

Relief measures may, roughly speaking, be divided into three classes, according to their final results. The first consists of such measures as give relief merely and go no further. It is necessary to avail oneself of these to a limited extent, especially where they take the shape of poor houses, doles, or advances, etc. Such measures are needed to save the lives of those who can do no work, whether from excessive suffering and emaciation, or from social position. The last is the case of *purdah* women and others whose positions or

habits forbid them to seek relief even when perishing from hunger. Even if we disregard ordinary humane feelings altogether, the lives of the citizens, especially of the workers, are valuable assets of a community. But I need hardly say, that where there is no imperative need for, or no special advantage to be gained by, this sort of relief, measures more obviously productive should be preferred.

Measures of the second class are those which are productive in an indirect way, such as opening new means of communication. The most important of these are, of course, railways. Much doubt has been expressed whether, more especially from the point of view of famine, a net of railways is an unmixed blessing. It is certain that they carry away the surplus produce which formerly there was a reasonable chance of storing in the country itself. It may be argued on the other side, that railways facilitate import as well as export. Weighing the question carefully, it may be fair to conclude that the area of famines when they occur is extended by the existence of railways, though very possibly their effects may be mitigated.

But the advantages of a railway system to trade and commerce, especially if its construction is unfettered by artificial restrictions, are incalculable. They may therefore fairly be regarded as a means of famine relief, advantageous to the future prosperity of the country. Naturally, however, their full use cannot be realised until the country wakes from its lethargy and throws some energy into the creation of new industries.

Measures of the third class are those which are directly productive, and, therefore, not only a relief in the present, but a prevention of future famines. Means of communication help to circulate production, but cease for the time to be

advantageous when there are no products to circulate. Irrigation works, on the other hand, sinking wells, making dams, cutting irrigation canals, directly increase production and guard, so far as they go, against famine. These, therefore, are the most suitable of all for famine relief work of this class. Giving *taccavi* for well-sinking is one of the most satisfactory, because it unites Government assistance with self-help in the cultivator. But there are others which are more momentous because larger in conception and more wide-spread in their effects. To this class the work which I am opening to-day belongs. There is also the work of making a great reservoir at Kadarpur in the Kadi division, and other large works of a similar kind are in contemplation. In parts where irrigation of this kind is not possible, but where it is practicable to sink wells, it is intended that the latter method should be adopted, and for this purpose two lakhs of rupees annually have been set apart by the State, of which I hope the people will take advantage.

The State has grudged no means of relief to the afflicted population but has used all, I trust and believe, in their right places. It has liberally provided poor houses in all affected districts. It has made ungrudging advances to those who are temporarily distressed but are precluded by their social position or other valid causes from going on relief works. It has attempted in various ways to restrict the mortality of the cattle. It has opened such works as road-making and repairs, tanks, etc., to meet immediate needs. It has been constructing the earthwork of new railways, which, though forming a small portion of the total cost of constructing railways, is almost all that can be done in this connection by the people of my State. It has freely given *taccavi* to cultivators for well-sinking and other purposes. To-day it is

opening a work which will be of permanent agricultural benefit to whole districts.

In its methods, the Government has been actuated by an earnest desire to use the best. It has been actuated by a spirit of the most humane and open-minded consideration for the people, united with principles of good administration. If any errors of detail have been committed, they have been, or are being, corrected.

Relief measures on a large scale impress the imagination and excite deservedly the encomiums of the people for their noble humanity. But those in authority should not be blinded by these praises. They should remember that these encomiums will be short-lived unless measures that go deeper —measures of lasting benefit and comprehensive wisdom— are undertaken.

So much for the means of meeting the immediate calamity. But surely we shall be blind and foolish if we stop here and neglect the broader lessons which this terrible experience of famine ought to impel us to learn. For, relief measures may merely palliate the evil, and not for a moment strike at its root. If the evil is allowed to grow, eventually the resources even of the richest Government will be baffled by it.

How is it that the people of this country have fallen into such a condition that stamina seems altogether wanting to them? The failure of rain for a single season has come with crushing force upon them. It has left them naked of resources. It has thrown more and more millions on the charity of Government relief. What are the reasons for this disastrous condition of things, and by what remedies can it be met? This is what should engage the earnest attention of those in authority.

Now though I cannot touch here all the minor causes and issues, yet the grand total to which they sum up is indisputable. It is the great poverty of the people. Improved communications have provided sufficient means of supply from outside when the harvest within the country fails. But of what use are these if there is no money to purchase such supplies? Poverty is the great fact in India. And to this, I fear, I must add many defects of character, of which perhaps poverty is partly a result and partly a parent source—want of real thrift, want of energy and enterprise, of legitimate ambition, and a high ideal; passiveness, fatalism, and supineness in the face of calamity. Unless this state of things is removed, unless the people can be taught self-help, it seems inevitable that things should go from bad to worse. I have often mixed with people and talked with them. I have conversed with the people individually and collectively, known and unknown, at my palace and on the scenes of works during day and at night. Moreover, lest my position should exclude me from correct impressions, I have also ascertained their feelings through officials and non-officials and men of all grades. And I have been struck by the helplessness and passiveness of the people. Their spirits seem to be so cramped, dull and inelastic. The idea of energetic assertion of their difficulties, especially in the presence of adversity, seems to be foreign to their mental habits.

But behind this poverty, connected with this absence of self-help, is another great characteristic fact. The population of India depends almost entirely on two means of subsistence, the educated classes on Government service and the uneducated on agriculture. On the causes of this we need not at present touch; but the fact is there.

Now, it is indisputable that countries, like Russia and

India, having large populations depending almost entirely on agriculture, can never be safe against famine. The secret of European prosperity is the prevalence of manufacturing industries in those countries. If we look at England, we find whole districts like Lancashire and the Midlands almost entirely given up to industries. We find great cities devoted mainly to some particular manufacture; as Manchester to cotton, Sheffield to cutlery, Glasgow to shipbuilding, Birmingham to arms, machinery and other iron works. And it is these districts and cities which are the basis of England's prosperity. With their wealth she is able to buy her food from abroad and disregard rains and droughts, good season or bad season.

It is not possible, even if it were desirable, for India to become such a predominatingly manufacturing country as England. But some righting of the fatal monopoly of its energies by agriculture is absolutely necessary for self-preservation. The example of Germany and Japan, which have been so successfully raising themselves from poor countries to the rank of great manufacturing countries, ought to be a spur and an encouragement to us.

It will be for us, as far as in us lies, to take the lesson of the famine to heart and set ourselves to encourage the growth of trades and industries. It may be done in various ways. We may give all reasonable facilities to enterprises; we may provide for and encourage education in such directions. Finally, where possible and advisable, initial measures of protection and bounty may be adopted. It should surely not be unwise for infant industries, which have developed and powerful competition to face, to receive some protection in the beginning. This need only be continued until they have reached a stage where they are sure not to be smothered in their

birth. The theory and practice of all undeveloped countries may be safely followed to such a limited extent in India, which the competition of machinery has thrown back into the rank of undeveloped countries. Lastly, I would also encourage and promote emigration either within or without the country.

But, whatever encouragement and help the Government may give, it can do nothing unless there is self-help on the part of the people. Education, by instruction and example, is the great begetter of self-help. But it is the misfortune in India that its educated sons choose to be as helpless and unenterprising as the ignorant. For they allow their horizon to be limited by the alluring prospects of Government service. The educated class must break through the bonds of apathy and dependence. They must begin to forge out new careers for themselves in the spirit of manliness and self-reliance. Then only can any improvement take place. When educated enterprise and self-help backed by the assistance and encouragement of States and Governments unite, then will begin an era which will speedily make such lamentable experience as the present year's a thing antiquated and impossible. (Loud cheers.)

Followed by the assembly, the Maharaja then proceeded to the site where arrangements had been made for lowering the first stone of the works. Copies of the local papers, the *Shri Sayaji Vijaya* and the *Baroda Watsal*, with a few current coins of the Raj were placed by His Highness in the small pit prepared for receiving the first stone. Taking up the silver hammer with ivory handle, the stone having been put into position, His Highness touched it with the hammer, saying "I declare this stone well and truly laid". After having partaken of refreshment and before leaving, the Maharaja was pleased to direct that the labourers should be fed with sweets and *kansar* at the State expense.

XVII

MEDICINE & THE HEALTH OF THE COMMUNITY IN INDIA

His Highness presided at the annual distribution of prizes at the Grant Medical College in Bombay on the 29th of March 1901. There was a large attendance of ladies and gentlemen taking an interest in the institution. The Maharaja was received at the porch of the college by the Principal, Lieut.-Colonel W. K. Hatch, and the Professors. After His Highness had taken his seat on the dais, along with the Staff of the college, the Principal read the report. Having distributed the prizes, His Highness, who was heartily applauded, delivered an Address on the importance of the study and practice of medicine for the health of the people of India.

DR HATCH, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I feel constrained, as I rise, to express first of all my high sense of the honour that has been done in asking me to preside on this occasion to distribute the prizes and deliver an Address. It is, indeed, a privilege to address an audience in which I see before me the dignitaries, senators, and members of a great university, the authorities and the students of a famous college, and a large number of well-trained, cultured and ardent young men now ready to face the difficult struggle of life, stirred with youthful hope and aspiration. When I consider the noble and useful career of well-doing and beneficence for which they have so strenuously prepared themselves, I feel the quality of that privilege heightened and enhanced.

Most of all I feel the compliment conveyed through myself to the State whose destinies have been committed to my hands, whose interests are to me as my own, and whose

people I have faithfully laboured to guide and encourage in the paths of education and progress. To those who come before me to-day to receive the prizes their arduous and honourable toil has well merited, or who have gained the degrees which are the badges of success and the reward that sweetens toil, I offer my cordial congratulations. The consciousness of work well done and rewards well earned must be speaking within you more inspiring congratulations than any others can offer. And I should like also to say a few words to those who have been less fortunate. I would ask them not to be discouraged, nor to regard the result of the examinations as a final verdict either on their capacities or on their chances. Life itself is one long examination, and it has happened, and may yet happen, that in it the first shall be last and the last first. It is the one great principle of life, in success never to be too much exalted and in defeat never to despair, but through good and bad fortune to work on steadily, hopefully and persistently.

You are now going into the world to use the education which the university has given you. I will, therefore, ask you to consider what was the essential purpose and aim of that education. The essence of higher education and university training is, I take it, to learn how to learn. We must first know the phenomena of life, but afterwards we must learn how to interpret them; we must know how to shape our conduct and action in accordance with the inexorable decrees of Nature; we must know how to apply the learning we have stored up. Over the gates of a university which is among the most famous for medicine there is inscribed a sentence which goes to the heart of the matter: "Wisdom is the principal thing, therefore get wisdom, and with all thy getting get understanding." These are true and noble words.

Now wisdom, which is the principal thing, that is to say, the essence of good education, does not consist in cramming the mind with mere dry facts. It is the balanced mind, the educated view, that perceives the relations of all things, that is reverent to what is great and disaffected by what is small.

Wisdom is to be found in the mental habit and must not be confused with quantity of information. Herbert Spencer has expressed this truth very forcibly. He says: "It is not the knowledge stored up as intellectual fat which is of value, but that which has been converted into intellectual muscle". Information, the bare knowledge of facts, is the inert material for intellectual activity to work upon; if not governed and vivified by wisdom, it may be of little use; its excess may even hamper the mind. Most of us have felt that our minds have sometimes been so overburdened with details as to be unable to disengage the main principles definitely, or to handle and arrange the diverse facts systematically. To know is not the thing, but, if I may adopt a pregnant expression of Bacon's, to know usefully.

Let me hasten to add that wisdom also implies a certain moral condition. It implies an enlightened conscience, a straightforward spirit of candour. Let us not use our education as men even of brilliant parts have sometimes done, merely in the dexterous employment of words. The logic-splitting of old mediaeval schoolmen has been often cited as an instance of this; but in our country the minute reasoning and discussion of our *śāstrīs* and *moulvies* gives us an instance nearer home of this misapplication of ingenious intellect. Words are only symbols wherewith to express ideas; and they are only valuable in so far as they express sound and fruitful ideas. Let me commend to your notice the rule which Descartes formulated as the rule of his life: "Never

to receive anything for truth which I do not clearly know to be true; that is, carefully to avoid haste and prejudice and to include in my judgment nothing which does not present itself so clearly, so distinctly, to my mind as to take away all occasion of doubt."

At the same time we should not be too much afraid of making mistakes; the sensible man learns often as much from his errors and failures as from his successes. Still less should we fear to acknowledge mistakes, for the manly confession of error is one of the best attributes of a true gentleman. Courage to meet difficulties, determination to overcome them, thoroughness in all things, the conscientious following of truth as our guiding light in our every thought and every action—these are the moral habits which wisdom implies.

And on habit let us hear Bacon: "Since custom is the principal magistrate of man's life, let men by all means endeavour to obtain good customs. Certainly custom is most perfect when it beginneth in young years". Your education should have formed in your young years those perfect customs leading in after-life to that "Self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control" which—as the poet tells us—"alone lead men to sovereign power".

I would now say a few words on your own particular departments of Science and Medicine. Science has now established itself as the main fact of the nineteenth century and the main promise of the twentieth; and it is slowly but persistently compelling for itself an adequate recognition in education and training. And yet, for a very long time, the sciences were regarded by many, and, I believe, are still regarded by a few, as dry subjects merely for the specialist and of no value in forming or liberalising the

mind. Formerly, the science side of public schools was used, and perhaps even now in some schools is used, chiefly as a refuge for pupils who had shown themselves unfit for anything else, a sort of intellectual hospital-ward for incapables.

Such a view seems very strange to us now, when Science is everywhere triumphing and asserting itself. For, apart from their force and utility, what an essential beauty and even glamour there is in many of the sciences. I will not speak here of the grandeurs of Astronomy, and how it has for the first time given the world in general a true sense of infinity. Within the limits of your own studies let us take the instance of Botany. Flowers and plants formerly satisfied the aesthetic sense and were the province of the poet or the ornament of an hour. Botany, while still leaving their former owners in possession, has brought the intellect in to share in the enjoyment. The ordinary man has seldom cultivated the power of observation; the objects he sees daily have no permanent meaning or suggestion for his mind; his daily walk, if he takes one, is a more or less mechanical and unseeing performance. He passes a flowering tree and for a fleeting moment has the sense of colour or perfume, and even that in five minutes may be forgotten. But to the botanist each flower is a world of interest; he knows intimately its life and nature; he sees in it the marvels of law, the secrets and subtleties of organic beauty. And there is the all-important science of Physiology which so marvellously clears and bases firmly a man's knowledge of himself, and brings him nearer to the fountain head of the mystery of his own being.

In forming and liberalising the mind, Science, instead of being deficient, has a real and considerable advantage. It

has unbounded largeness and scope of vision. It is superior to all other forms of human effort in the certainty and permanency of its results and the universality of its benefits. It encourages and forms the scientific habit of mind, that great staff and guide to the journey of life, which has been well defined by Lord Derby: "You cannot know more", he says, "than a fraction of what has been done and thought—whether that fraction is a little larger or smaller, matters not much; what is essential is to have mastered thoroughly what you do take on hand; to have acquired habit and method of thought; and in that I conclude accuracy of investigation, clearness of conception, and the conviction that under all phenomena, however confused the appearance they present, there is a regulating law, whether you can detect it or not".

This is one aspect of the greatness of Science, as it appeals to the reason; but I have often felt that it also appeals to another side of us, the spiritual. It seems to me that Science may be regarded as the great mediator between man and his Creator. I have spoken earlier of the beauty of Science, the wonders revealed to the botanist, the infinite suggestions that are concealed in a single flower. Now in every religion flowers enter into the worship of God, and they are accompanied with prayer, with communion, with praise, with hopes of salvation. Yet the patient study of His creation seems to me a deeper and more reverent prayer; the perception of the marvels and subtleties of His workings, a more intimate and delightful communion; the confession of the grandeur of His laws, more understanding praise; and obedience to them, the true and best salvation.

I think that in India more than in any other country the proper recognition of scientific education is a crying need

of the day. And certainly this country more than any other calls for energetic pursuit of the Science which it will be your privilege to apply for the relief of human suffering. The study and treatment of disease is with us an urgent need. The century has indeed been a century of great discoveries. This is not the place to speak in detail of such fruitful and pregnant discoveries as the Roentgen Rays, the Cell Theory and the Recapitulation Theory in Embryology, the Theory of Zymotic Disease, the Discovery of the Nature and Function of the White Blood-corpuscles.

The discoveries of the powers of Steam and Electricity, most widespread and manifold in their results, even have their effect upon the preservation and recovery of health, either directly like electrical machines for exercising the body, or indirectly like the immeasurable increases in facilities of locomotion. Even poor men are able to go for recreation and improvement of health to health resorts, whether in their own or foreign countries, covering easily and cheaply distances which would once have been their despair. Let us hope that in time a similar habit of sending the sick for a change of air and conditions may in our own country replace the ignorant preference for keeping them to languish or to die at home.

The skill of medical men is still baffled by a number of maladies; but the discoveries made even in my lifetime have been prodigious; and if the same rate of advance is maintained in future years, we should be able to know the causes of most morbid affections within the next few generations. The French chemist Pasteur was the inaugurator of this new epoch in medical science. He proved that certain diseases were caused by the presence in the blood of minute

organisms of microscopic dimensions belonging to the vegetable class "Fungi". This single discovery opened up a long vista of applications. The curtain was raised on the innermost secret of disease for the first time in the annals of this Science. We may say that an unknown and unimagined world was opened up by this great explorer. Pasteur was not a medical man, but a pure scientist. But note how the sparks struck out by the theorist gave light to the fire of the practical medical doctor.

At the same time a surgeon, named Lister, was devoting himself in England to the treatment of wounds. His high humanity was grievously troubled by the frightful number of deaths from blood poisoning then occurring in the hospitals of Great Britain. He applied his erudite mind to elucidate the causes of the phenomenon, and then Pasteur's discovery opened the door at which he might otherwise have knocked in vain. The cause of blood poisoning was the existence of germs in the wound which set up putrefaction, and so caused a poisoning of the whole system by absorption. Lister then argued, "if I can find some substance, destructive to the germs but inoffensive to the vitality of the tissues in the wound, it would prevent and stop blood poisoning". After various experiments he succeeded in solving this problem with the chemical, carbolic acid. He thus laid the foundation of the famous "antiseptic method" now adopted by the medical profession throughout the civilised world. This method has revolutionised surgery, and in the profession of medicine generally its application is far-reaching. Not only is the mortality from blood poisoning practically reduced to zero, but operations formerly never dreamt of can now be done with comparative impunity and gratifying success. It is

the simple fact that "Lord Lister has been instrumental in saving many thousands of lives".

In India itself, cholera, enteric fever, dysentery, plague—the great scourges of the land—seem to have been hunted down in the light of Pasteur's discovery. They are all due to specific germs, whose life-history is well understood. In the case of plague, which is of a recent appearance, the exact manner of its access to the body has so far eluded investigation. The others seem to be chiefly conveyed by water. I may, perhaps, illustrate practically the connection of water with cholera by the example of Baroda, which is only one out of many. Since the water supply had been provided for in that town cholera had immensely decreased; last year it recurred with great virulence; and it is impossible not to connect the recrudescence with the diminished and vitiated water supply. From the discovery of the cause to the discovery of the remedy is but one step, though not always an easy one, and we may fairly hope that with improved sanitation these great scourges will be only a name to future generations. There is another curse, less startling in its manifestations than plague, which is sapping the vitality of the people in a more thorough and insidious manner. I allude to the malady of malaria. After years of patient research and investigation this, too, has yielded up its secret. It is now known beyond the shadow of a doubt that malarial fever is due to the presence in the blood of a minute organism which feeds on the red blood corpuscles.

Scientific education is, however, not only needed for the study and treatment of disease, which is after all the business of specialists. In the shape of hygiene it is imperatively needed in the homes and daily life of our people. An intelligent care of health is unknown in India. Consider how

many valuable lives have been lost to us which might have been saved by timely measures. It is not long since we were mourning for one of the greatest, the most useful of them all, who passed away in your own city before his work had been done, when his great capacities had not even begun to be exhausted. Health is our most precious possession, because it is the first condition of prolonged usefulness. We should try to preserve it by care and rest and timely remedies, so that we may have a longer time to do our duty to ourselves and those near to us, and, if it in us lies, to our country. At the same time we must recognise that there are certain rare occasions when all considerations of health must be subordinated to some great and imperative duty.

We make great show and spend much money in caste festivities and *Śrāddhas*, but to my mind the reverence, the truer *Śrāddha*, is that done to the living by surrounding them with comfort, guarding their health and prolonging their lives. It would be a mistake to think that Indians have less wish to live than Europeans. I believe they are as much in love with life, and if they do not take as much care to preserve it, it is partly owing to poverty, but still more to their ignorance of the laws of health. This ignorance alone accounts for the prevalence of disease and insanitary conditions in our country. Not that these things are peculiar to India; for I have noticed somewhat the same insanitary conditions in houses and villages in Italy, Germany, Spain and Egypt. But the bad example of other countries can be no excuse for laxity in ourselves. We must push forward whoever else lags behind.

Our ignorance shows itself in a thousand ways, of which I will indicate only one or two. It shows itself, for example, in the increase of those minor ailments which, without being

immediately fatal, are full of annoyance, trouble and pain, which impair the joy of life and the power of work, and in the end, some sooner, some later, wear down the system. Dyspepsia, diabetes, hysteria and nervous disorders, organic weakness or disturbance which often shows itself in minor signs such as the rapid decay of teeth: the growth of these and a host of such maladies is extremely marked. And in many, organic defect or predisposition to disease is transmitted to offspring, thus punishing the children for the ignorance and neglect of their parents. All these ailments are preventable by a little knowledge and care. Everyone must have heard of the unusual prevalence and growth of dyspepsia and diabetes among Indians, especially educated Indians. This is solely due to our ignorance of the right proportions of brain work and physical exercise; ignorance of the fundamental principles of diet; ignorance of what the stomach will bear and what it will not. Certainly few people, if they knew how to keep the digestive power unimpaired, would spare themselves the little care which would save them daily misery and the sapping of their energies.

Again, the mortality of women and of children might be much less than it is. Many things help to increase the list: ignorance of the care of women in child-birth; the dark, dingy, and unventilated rooms with artificial heat and light; the evil effects of a sedentary existence behind the *purdah*; the false dignity that will not condescend to healthy labour. The same ignorance shows itself in some at least of our social customs, as for instance early marriage, the rigid prohibition of widow-remarriage; unsuitable connections between very old men and very young girls. A knowledge of the laws of Nature and conformity with their inexorable

conditions rather than insistence on our prejudices and impossible ideals might lead us to modify these in a salutary direction. These increase child mortality and the mortality of women. They stunt the physique and weaken the health of future generations. They debilitate the nation, restrict the people's energy and power of work, and relax their moral fibre. They undermine their force, fortitude and endurance, and leave them too weak to resist the inroads of disease and to keep a position in the race of priority, or to prevent their own material downfall and ruin. We may adhere within the limits of reason to our ancient *Śāstras*, and yet try to bring ourselves into line with physical laws, which are, after all, of paramount importance.

Instead then of cramming the minds of students with information of no practical utility, such as the more useless parts of geography, we might give them a fair knowledge of the first principles of health and sanitation. Such instruction would be by far the most effective agent for promoting both hygienic and other reforms. It would also make the difficult problem of sanitation in India easy to solve. The great stumbling block of sanitation in India even more than poverty is the passive unwillingness of the people, and the whole root of that unwillingness is ignorance. To force sanitation on an unwilling people is beyond the power of rulers and beyond the power of men. The strength of accumulated inertia must in the end baffle the most actively benevolent government, for against ignorance the gods themselves fight in vain. Some knowledge of Science would go a great way to remove the difficulty. It is not enough to tell people that sanitation is good; they must be conscious of it as a part of their own knowledge.

There is one subject of considerable importance which,

from time to time, seems to attract attention: the desirability of investigating and encouraging Indian Medicine. This is a subject in which I have myself taken interest. In Medicine, as in other branches, it has always been my desire that our people should know what progress our ancestors had made, and test it in the light of modern knowledge. It is always a pity when old customs and arts are abandoned, not after reasoned consideration, but because it is fashionable to abandon them. At the same time it would be a great folly to cling to the past when it is in conflict with Science and utility, merely because it is the past. Medicine is a department in which life and health are at stake, and the physician should feel firm ground beneath him, not following where his fancy leads, but resorting to such remedies as are approved to be the best. Whatever is good in our knowledge we should try to preserve, but from reason and Science, not from tradition and sentiment.

It therefore seems to me the wisest expedient for the preservation of the Indian system to give scholarships for its study to those who have studied and taken degrees in Western Medicine, so that they may be able to compare and use what is good in both systems. This would be better than merely encouraging men who are not in a position to examine the soundness of the Indian system by scientific tests.

In the domain of pharmacology a great deal more should be done towards finding out the qualities of Indian drugs and ascertaining how far they can be utilised. I once offered a Chair to this college with this object, but nothing much came of it. If the use of these drugs were once based on competent scientific knowledge, and with an eye on our climate and constitution, the necessity of preparation on a large scale might open a new source of industry.

Some of you will soon be practising as physicians. To these I would address a few words of advice. In the relations, the almost fiduciary relations between a doctor and his clients, the gifts which have always helped to secure and keep a large practice are sympathy and engaging manners. The old Indian doctors used to recite *mantras* when administering a medicine. Now that the ignorance and spirit of faith to which this simple method of commanding confidence addressed itself is dying out, sympathy and good manners must be your *mantras*. Cultivate, therefore, a spirit of sympathy; let your manners please and command confidence. Yet, though tact and consideration are so important, they must not be given importance at the cost of injury to the patient. Popularity with the patient must be subordinated to his real welfare. A physician must above all have firmness and the courage of his convictions. He should not be swayed by vague and baseless considerations which have nothing to do with the application of his science. If he is, he is acting in a manner derogatory to his profession.

An Indian doctor ought also to pay special attention to the food of invalids. He should know the diet of all the classes of patients he is likely to come across. Ignorance in this particular sometimes leads to improper directions being given. But nursing and food are such large and important questions that I cannot dwell on them here. I will only say that doctors might exact a great deal more attention than they do for those in attendance on the sick. For those who attend on the sick are usually so ignorant that their well-meant kindness often proves no kindness at all, but rather poison to the patient. Neglect in some trifles also often leads to serious results. The profession you will embrace is a great, benevolent and worthy one, and I trust

you will embrace it worthily and pursue it thoroughly. We cannot, as in Europe, have specialists and separate hospitals for different diseases; still it is the duty of every one to try to mitigate human suffering; and a great deal can be done in this direction both by private individuals and by public bodies.

Instances may be pointed out in earlier Indian history of Indian kings and emperors providing dispensaries and other medical assistance to their subjects. But I doubt whether any one can point out any such prince who has systematically provided dispensaries, hospitals, and various methods of bringing medical aid home to the doors of the greatest possible number of people. It is in Europe that this has first been done, mainly by the humane enterprise of private charity. Let us gratefully remember that the British Government has been the first Government to bring it into India, and again, the first Government which has recognised the provision of medical aid as a duty of the State. And let us hope that it will establish a yet further claim to the gratitude of the country by continuing to develop this wise and benevolent policy in the increase of medical aid and sanitation in the villages and in the larger supply of doctors, trained nurses, and midwives. Let me also suggest the establishment of an institution for imparting a fair knowledge of the Western science of medicine in addition to their own to *Vaidyas*, *Hakims*, and similar classes, who are often the only sort of medical practitioners within reach of the poorer people. Although we cannot expect from these the same knowledge as from graduates, they should have at least some acquaintance with the English language, otherwise they will not be able to add to the knowledge imparted to them by studying the most recent

developments in the only medium where they are to be found, the languages of Europe. Practitioners so instructed in a State institution, and commanding confidence by the possession of State certificates or diplomas, would honourably fill up a large field now supplied only with unscientific practitioners. Such practitioners would round-off the medical system of the country.

The native Indian States have followed the example set them, often to an extent not realised outside. In Baroda, for instance, it has been introduced with a yet further modification. Municipal taxation has not been imposed as yet, and let us hope circumstances will allow us long to continue that happy exemption; yet almost every town of a population of 7000 and more is provided with a dispensary, the total number already reaching fifty-one. There is also a system of town and village sanitation, in the former case with carefully worked out rules and regulations and with elected members in control thereof. These may admit of improvement in increased effectiveness of working; but the means have been provided and a beginning made. Nor have I any doubt that other States have also made some such advance.

The organisation of such a system makes it necessary to employ more and more graduates educated in colleges such as yours. The welfare of the Grant Medical College is, therefore, a matter of interest to us all. Let us hope that it will go on flourishing, will steadily increase its register of students and increase its staff without finding it necessary or expedient to restrict its numbers as has been the case in Poona. This is a case which I cannot let pass without a word of regret, for of such colleges we have much need in India. At the same time the cry for technical education may be

pushed too far. This country has stood and will long continue to stand for the cultivation of the mind. We have not progressed so far that we can afford to follow the example of France which is now tending to assign a predominant place to technical and industrial education. We should rather follow America, a great and growing commercial nation, which yet combines the two branches of study, while still assigning a large place to the elder. To perfect and extend the mental training of the nation through compulsory universal education is the prior and more urgent need. And I must add, though it may sound irrelevant here, a still more urgent and primal need is that of more and better food which goes to build up the tissues and parts of our body.

To return from this digression, you must not imagine that it is merely from selfish motives that I take interest in this college. However we may be divided by geographical circumstances or administrative divisions, yet our customs, traditions, aspirations, and the forces that mould our character and fortune are really the same. Above all, whatever occasional mists such as trifling racial jealousies may obscure it, the clear view that our future material progress is so interwoven as to be all of one piece renders these divisions of little importance. Whatever tends to the improvement or advantage of one part of the community must profoundly affect and therefore interest another. Through this nobler sympathy the education bestowed by this college on my own countrymen must interest me in its favour quite apart from any advantage to myself as the ruler of my State.

In expressing my good wishes for the college and compliments to the Principal and Staff on its excellent management, I feel I am not expressing my own feelings alone. That

Doctor Hatch and his assistants have deserved well of the public by conscientious painstaking energy and ability beyond the ordinary is the universal opinion which any mention of them elicits in all well-informed quarters. And I mention this because I feel that there is no greater reward or inspiring encouragement to a public servant than to find his labours appreciated by those for whom he works.

I should have liked to add a few observations on the influences of Government on health and longevity which are very considerable, as well as on a few other points; but I have already exceeded due measure in the length of my remarks, and I will not tax your attention further. If I have said so much it was from a strong desire to suggest to you what opportunities lie before you. By labour, both theoretical and practical, in your own department and profession you may add fame to our university, improve your country, and ennoble yourselves. You may in your own lives justify the dictum of the poet:

"The path of duty is the way to glory".

In proposing a vote of thanks to the Maharaja, Dr T. B. Nariman said that His Highness, who was one of the most enlightened, broad-minded and public-spirited native princes of India, had laid them under a deep obligation not only by coming all the way from Baroda for the purpose of presiding at this distribution of prizes, but also for the impressive and scientific discourse he had delivered that evening. He had laid them under further obligation by making the institution handsome donations, showing his real and sustained interest in the college in which a few years previously he had endowed a Chair of Pharmacology. The speaker hoped and trusted that the worthy example set by His Highness would be followed by many of the princes of the Indian States of Western India (Applause), especially seeing that the advantages of such endowments were reciprocal. He was proud to claim His Highness as the

ruler of the place where he was born, Navsari, very properly described as the "Paradise of Gujarat", which had produced men like the first Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy*, Mr Dadabhai Naoroji†, Mr J. N. Tata‡ and others who had made their mark in the history of the Indian Empire. He hoped that besides making ample provision for the advancement and welfare of his own subjects, His Highness would be pleased to continue to extend his philanthropy to such deserving institutions as the Grant Medical College. (Loud and prolonged cheers.) The vote of thanks having been seconded by Lieut.-Col. H. P. Dimmock, the Maharaja was garlanded by a lady student of the college, and the proceedings therewith ended.

XVIII

On the 17th of April 1901 the Grantha Sampadak Mandali, with which was associated the Sahavicharini Sabha, both societies for the promotion of literature, celebrated their fifth anniversary in the Laxmi Vilas Palace under the personal auspices of the Maharaja, who had shown his appreciation of efforts in the cause of the Indian vernaculars. The special interest in this direction, which he had indicated in a speech made after his recent return from Europe, encouraged these bodies to approach His Highness with a request to associate his name with this valuable organisation. The proceedings were opened by Mr Shankar Moro Ranade, who referred to the growing importance and popularity of the associations. He said that they were growing to be representative not only of Baroda as the centre of local operations, but of the whole of the people of Maharashtra. To corroborate this he alluded to letters from distinguished outsiders, such as Sir Balchandra Krishna and Mr M. R. Bodas, regretting their inability to be present, but heartily sym-

* Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, 1st Baronet; a prominent Parsi philanthropist of Bombay.

† Dadabhai Naoroji, an eminent Parsi social reformer and publicist, for a short time Dewan of Baroda, who in 1887 became a Member of Parliament, being the first Indian to do so.

‡ Jamsetji Nasarwanji Tata, born at Navsari, founder of the great mercantile firm of Tata & Co.; a Parsi merchant prince and philanthropist of Bombay.

pathising with the aims and objects of the movement. These facts, combined with those of the patronage of men like the late Mr Ranade and of the large body of members scattered all over India, showed clearly the progress and strength of the associations as forms of national service and usefulness. After these introductory remarks, Shrimant Sampatrao Gaekwad, brother of His Highness, read the Report of the Mandali. This was followed by a lecture by Mr R. M. Kelkar showing the close relation between national literature and national character. He pointed out how in the past literature had conspicuously expressed the national character. He maintained that in spite of the difficulties which had beset its wide distribution, literature had been growing steadily in volume and variety until it suffered in the eclipse of all national glory in the political catastrophes of the pre-British era. In ancient times works had been produced in abundance even on technical and trite subjects. In a materially altered form after the commencement of the British era, literary activity had been resumed, as the art of printing was introduced at that time. His Highness made a short reply to the suggestions of the various speakers:

GENTLEMEN,—The history of the growth of languages dead and living and their literatures would open up the lines on which you should pursue your work. The art of printing has given a great stimulus to the growth of literature, and thanks largely to the British *régime*, you have printing in India in abundance to-day. There is an intimate relation between the different stages of a nation's life and the production of original literature and literary criticism. We have indeed passed through bright eras of evolution, but a totally new sphere confronts us to-day. In the old days literature rose and grew according to the conditions and the tastes and standard of knowledge then prevailing. In the days of the past Maharajas, works of their own taste were liberally patronised. But in these days we have a very large and diverse public to serve.

Classifying the component orders of society we might regard them as (1) the members of learned professions, (2) princes and noblemen, (3) traders, and (4) peasants and the lower classes. In spite of poverty or limited means many of the first class might do more work. All the other classes depend upon them, the educated class, for the enjoyment of knowledge. Theirs is the chief responsibility. The traders and peasants ought to be taught to appreciate knowledge. Princes and chiefs, though in olden days the main patrons of learning and also the principal consumers of literary productions, are frequently to-day not on the same high level. The education of many is faulty and therefore they fail to value the need of literary expansion. Before their education is altered it is unfair to condemn them indiscriminately.

I have tried my best to assist you, but you ought also to endeavour to secure the patronage of other princes and chiefs. I wish you would make clear this point in your plan of campaign. As to the works to be produced, you should keep definitely in view the utility and actual demand for a work. The different orders, including the traders and peasants, should be induced to look to knowledge by being served with works having an appeal to their own respective interests. If you keep these things clearly in your mind and try to realise them your object is assured, and I shall ever feel glad to help you and associate with you in your cause. In connection with to-day's assembly I propose to set apart a sum of money in your cause in the name of Raja Fatehsinhrao* who is to leave for England in a short time.

* His Highness' first son, who died in 1908.

XIX

The Trustees of the Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh presented an Address to the Maharaja on the 2nd of July 1901 and he made a short speech in reply.

GENTLEMEN,—I thank you very much for the kind and cordial reception you have accorded me to-day. It has given me very great pleasure to visit your valuable institution. I am especially glad to note, in the Address you have just read, your keen appreciation of that most important principle in education, namely, the combination in just proportions of physical and intellectual training.

Gentlemen, your efforts show that you have embarked upon the right path for the advancement of your community. Education is the basis of all reforms, and is the only way of salvation from our present condition.

I very much regret that want of time compels me to be brief, and prevents me from giving full expression to the various sentiments that are uppermost in my mind at this moment. Though this is my first visit to the college, let me assure you, Gentlemen, that it will not be my last. I hope to come and acquaint myself with you more intimately, with greater leisure than I have to-day. Moreover, I will ask you to remember that I take deep interest in undertakings like yours, whether I am in Baroda or elsewhere.

Boys of this famous college, I trust you know well why you are here and what you have to learn by being here. You must remember whose descendants you are and what your forefathers have done, not only in India but outside of it in Asia, Africa and Europe. You must have read the history of the great deeds your forefathers once achieved; if not, I would exhort you to study it carefully. I know you

have many valuable histories written by your own people. Personally I take great interest in the study of history, for the lessons it teaches are of immense value. Your historical records have immortalised the high deeds of courage and valour which secured for their authors both an Empire and the spread of their religion. Those battles were indeed fierce and strenuous contests.

But living though we are at the distance of centuries from those great men, do not suppose, worthy descendants of worthy fathers, that you have not also as terrible contests before you even at the present day. The enemies have changed, and our weapons too have changed with them; and with the changes has arisen a greater need for vigilance and care. Your present enemy is more barbarous and persistent; it is ignorance. If you but succeed in conquering ignorance, I am sure you will not fail to make a mark on the times, though different from that left by your ancestors. For ignorance is an enemy with whom it is most difficult to contend; and victory obtained over this powerful foe is more glorious than the blood-stained conquests of your forefathers. The best weapon you can employ to-day is union. For union is strength. If our present times have to teach us any lesson, it is this.

The days of isolation have gone. We must look upon each other as friends and supporters, as part and parcel of the same fabric. As for myself, I make no distinction between my community and yours, and feel that I am as much a member of the latter as of the former. As such I feel strongly that our salvation lies in our common efforts to educate our brothers.

I shall take an abiding interest in the welfare of this institution and shall always be anxious to watch the successful

career of any member of this college whose education and culture have grown from the seeds sown in it. You have the best guide in the person of your worthy Principal, Mr Morison, and you will never err if you follow in his footsteps faithfully and courageously.

I again thank you for your kind words and I assure you of my full sympathy.

XX

His Highness visited the Victoria High School, Dewas, on the 9th of August 1901 and made the following reply to an Address which was there presented to him.

GENTLEMEN AND PUPILS,—Allow me to thank you cordially for the hearty welcome you have given me.

That education is the key to all human progress and happiness is, as you say, an oft-repeated truism, but I think it cannot be repeated too often, particularly in this country where ignorance is so great. Something has been done in British India and the Indian States for the cause of learning; but on comparison you will find that the money we spend for its spread is too little and compares most unfavourably with what prevails in the advanced countries of the world. In several countries in Europe, a great percentage of the revenues of the State is devoted to this purpose. I cannot see any reason why India should not spend on this very desirable object a great deal more than it does at present.

Education not only improves the mind, but enables us to perceive where our true interest lies. Without education no solid progress can be made, and without it no lasting progress can be maintained. The need of progress is so great in this backward country of ours that to neglect or to

restrict the spread of knowledge is positively to prevent the country from going ahead.

I have so much faith in education that I have tried and shall ever try to promote its spread to the best of my ability and power. Allow me to remind you that mere reading and writing, mere knowing of books, and being able to argue well do not constitute true education. The endeavours of an educated man ought to be to bring into practical life the high and noble principles he may have learnt both in and out of school. We may not be able to carry out all these principles; but we should make very earnest endeavours to do so.

I know there are several defects in our present educational system. One of the greatest defects I have noticed is that it does not sufficiently encourage and develop original thought and research. It fails to develop earnestness of purpose and a spirit of self-sacrifice. These imperfections are not beyond correction; and some benevolent persons might raise the question and persuade the powers that be to set them right.

You are aware how difficult it is to make a Government view a subject as we would desire it to do; still more difficult is it to persuade it to take practical steps for improvements. These difficulties are intensified and enhanced when a Government is far removed from its people, allows them no representation, and permits no appreciable decentralisation but concentrates all the administrative control in its own hands.

There is, however, another kind of government in which all of us individually have some share of control. I refer to the government of self and of our family. If each of us tries within our limited means to remove the shortcomings we find in ourselves and in the members of our families, if we

cultivate a high sense of duty and other noble qualities, and thus set an example to others, we shall cumulatively be doing a great deal to promote the interests of our country.

Though each of us can do this to a great extent, still there are none better situated to accomplish this object than men who follow the sacred and responsible profession of teaching. I shall not here go into the theory and practice of education; but I hope to be pardoned if I say to the teachers that every one of them must set a high ideal before himself to which he should aspire to bring up every one of his pupils. A teacher without ambition, without knowledge of his profession, and without fervent love for his country can do but little for the pliant and malleable mind that is placed before him in the person of his pupil. You have a hard and arduous duty before you; and I wish you success in the performance of your sacred task. Let me hope that your labours will be crowned with such success as to make the careers of your students a matter of complete satisfaction to yourselves, to them and to the country at large.

You, students, must not think that your success will depend solely upon the endeavours of your teachers. Let me tell you that no amount of teaching can bear good fruit unless the person taught pays attention to, and assimilates, all that is imparted to him. You must always ask the why and wherefore of everything that comes in your way and within your experience. Try to judge for yourselves, and cultivate a feeling of sensible self-confidence. Without it you will find it very hard in life to carry out anything with courage and determination.

You have paid me more compliments than I think I deserve; but I shall test their sincerity by the nature of your own lives in the future. I hope you will be men of character,

of moral courage, straightforward conduct, and of generous disposition. I ask you to love your fellow-men as much as yourselves and try to help the poor and the ignorant to the utmost of your power. Above all be patriotic, with the advancement of your country nearest your hearts. Patriotism is the patronage of wider interests.

You refer in your Address to the education of my children, and the happy beginning my eldest son has made in his scholastic career. This mention puts me in mind of many thoughts about the education of our princes. I am anxious that the task I have begun should be kept up and even improved after I have laid down the reins of Government. In order to make sure of this I am trying to give my children such education as I myself have not had. In many directions we see that the progress of our country is not as steady and as rapid as it should be; and if I were to attempt to mention here all the causes, I should be taking too great an advantage of your patience and kindness, which I do not propose to do. I will satisfy myself by pointing out to you that one of the reasons of our uneven progress is the lack of a sound education in our princes and nobility.

Is there any wonder that we do not understand our interests, the interests of good government, and of society, in the absence of good education? On a dispassionate consideration you will find that under the educational system as it exists at present, it is but natural that the great majority of Indian princes should fall short of the earnest expectations of their friends and their countrymen. Standards are set up beyond their means and their education; and then we feel chagrined and disappointed if they do not come up to our ideal. If we honestly wish that they should do better, no amount of advice, none of the leading strings and none

of the inopportune and ill-suited constitutional restrictions can achieve as much untarnished success as proper culture and education.

Let us hope that these young men, who are present here, will be so instructed and trained as to make their own career a success and a source of satisfaction and pride to their families, subjects and friends. Before concluding allow me to thank you once again for your courtesy and good wishes.

XXI

In 1902 while on a visit to Madras the Gujarati community there on the 2nd of September presented an Address to His Highness, who in the course of his reply said:

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I have been so much occupied the whole day that I am hardly in a position to be able to reply to your exhaustive, complimentary and flattering Address. I will, however, express the feelings which are uppermost in my mind. I am not attempting to answer your Address in detail, but merely giving a general statement in reply to the sentiments addressed to me. It is a matter of great gratification to me to learn that the Gujarati community has been able to get on so well in Madras among a people who are so intelligent and whose manners and customs, so far as my experience goes, are not very different from your own. It is a matter of still greater pleasure to me to be able to hear from the lips of my own people that they are getting on so well, because this is a fact which is very seldom told to rulers and princes by their people. They are often accustomed to hear complaints, but it is left to the lot of few to get a report which is so favourable and encouraging.

I congratulate you on the fact that you are satisfied with

your positions in life and I hope that the community will continue to prosper and grow. In our *Śāstras* there are hardly any points on which advice is not given to us, and trade is one of the most important points referred to in the *Śāstras*. The whole community in India is divided into four classes and the Vaishyas or the trading class occupy the third place. I am not a person who believes in such traditions. There is no class that can ultimately be called lower or higher than another. The trading classes have to bring to bear upon their countrymen the truth that in everything the quality of honesty is the best policy in all their dealings.

I would like to touch upon some of the points alluded to in the Address. With regard to the railway extension from Baroda to Sojitra, I have just ordered my Secretary to give his best attention to the matter, but beyond this I have not been able to decide anything definitely and can only assure you that it will be my earnest endeavour to meet with all your wants so far as it lies in my power. It is a matter of great credit to you that you have started a Gujarati school, maintained it at your own cost and taken steps to address the University in order that the same shall be recognised. This fact bears testimony to your enterprise and patriotism. I have already spoken to my Secretary about the matter and it will be further considered by myself in due course.

XXII

On the 3rd of September 1902 the Maharaja paid a visit to Pachayappa's College, Madras. Before leaving he addressed a few remarks to those present in the following terms:

SENIOR TRUSTEE, STUDENTS AND GENTLEMEN,—It was with rather a surprise that I was told by my friend who was driving with me that I was expected to address a few words

to you. You can well understand how difficult it is for a person to be able to say words appropriate for the occasion on the spur of the moment. If my remarks happen to be inappropriate, you will excuse me, seeing I was not at all prepared to address to you words of any great gravity.

You are at present in a very important stage of your life. Stages of life have been divided by Shakespeare into seven, and yours is one of the most important, for if it is fulfilled to the best of your ability you may rest assured of your success hereafter. In every line of life we are all students—some have to go to regular schools, others have to learn in their offices, some in failure and some in success. In every moment of our life we are studying something and it would be a great mistake for any individual to think that the life of the student is over when he has attained a certain age or a certain success in life.

I would like to say a few words concerning matters which, according to my experience, are of great importance. Whatever you are taught, whether small or great, trivial or important, pay your utmost attention to it. Whatever you now consider to be trivial may one day appear to you to be important, and the day may come when the trifles will be of great benefit and interest to you. To illustrate my point: if you learn to write fairly well with proper stops and commas and other punctuation marks, you will be able to give your meaning with clearness and lucidity to your readers. You can multiply such instances and I am sure some of you, who are sufficiently advanced in age, must have realised the importance of studying even the apparently insignificant.

India is a country which is beset with peculiar difficulties and has aims to fulfil which require no common study. All

of you represent the generation that will occupy sooner or later an important stage in our Indian society. It is your duty and your responsible task to make efforts yourselves in order to carry out that task to as great a success as possible. Let us hope that some of you, if not all, will exhibit energy and talent, and that a day will come when fellow-citizens or any superior in wealth may be pleased to honour them by having their statues erected, or their pictures or other likenesses hung up, like those which we see on the walls here, to serve as an example for generations to come.

I will address to you only a few words of advice. I should advise you to be gentle to your fellow-men, love truth, and love your religion, and love your country; and if you fail—which I hope will never be the case—someone will honour you as a martyr if not in this generation, then in one which breathes a freer and a more liberal atmosphere. With these words, young men, let me wish you all brilliant and successful careers. (Cheers.)

His Highness in thanking the Trustees said:

SENIOR TRUSTEE AND GENTLEMEN,—Let me thank you over again for the kind words you have addressed to me in thanking me for taking the trouble of visiting this college. (Cheers.) Had I more time at my disposal, it would have given me infinite pleasure and great delight to have seen the students in their respective classes. One cannot get an adequate idea of the institution by merely paying a visit. One needs to see the institution actually doing its work of imparting knowledge to the students. I would venture to say that the founder could have performed no greater service to the country nor have bestowed any greater benefit on his fellow-men, than by thus spending his money

on the cause of education. I think the first trustee must have fought a brilliant battle in obtaining the transference of a part, if not the major part, of the money from the religious institution to the educational one. I hope some of you who are receiving the benefit of this liberal institution will, if you succeed in life and have good fortune, be prepared to return to it your mite, sending a portion of your earnings to it or starting similar institutions. A man is pledged to spend money for the society's benefit if he has earned it from the society in which he lives. The greatest idea of socialism, as far as I know, is that a man who earns money from his fellow-men is not entitled to its benefit alone; but he is bound by morality to give it back in some shape or other for the good of his fellow-men. I believe that it is a duty which we owe to mankind to do as much as we can to make others happy and in our own life set a model to the coming generation.

XXIII

On the same day as the preceding, His Highness went to see the Institution of the Anjuman-i-Islam at Madras and in response to the words of welcome there given to him, said:

COLONEL FORMBY AND GENTLEMEN OF THE ANJUMAN,—It is with a peculiar pleasure that I visit this institution. I will explain to you why it is a peculiar pleasure to me. Muslims in India as soldiers have frequently come into contact with Sikhs and Marathas, not always as opposed to each other, but very often as friends supporting the same cause. (Cheers.) You will find that in many Indian States Muslims occupy very important positions, just as they do in Baroda. If you were to visit my capital city, you would find that many of the foremost noblemen there are Muslims. One of my

ministers was once a Muslim, Kazi Shahabuddin,* who had done a great deal for the adherents of his religion in the Bombay Presidency. Although I belong to the Hindu religion, I take a great interest in the Muslims and my subjects who represent that faith. (Hear, hear.) Even on Id occasions I have to take part in their ceremonials, a custom not introduced by me but one which was in vogue in the times of my ancestors. It is with a peculiar consciousness and peculiar pleasure that I continue this practice, believing fully that it contains a modicum of wisdom which is of great value.

It is of great importance that we should love each other and should forget our little differences in order to enable us to promote the well-being of the country. We must each of us individually make some sacrifices in order to advance the good of the whole. We might differ in matters of religion and its tenets, but there are some principles in which Muslims, Hindus and Christians must all agree by common consent, and they are: be just and true, and do as much good as lies in your power to your fellow-countrymen.

The Muslims were once as you know a most powerful race, not only in India but in a great portion of the world—in Africa and in Europe. Of course they did not know America, but in the portions of the world in which they have lived they played a part in the history of which every Muslim has occasion to be proud. Their soldiers at one time went as far as Budapesth; they showed their heroism in the plains of Arabia as well as in the plains of Egypt. If you visit those countries you will be struck with the eminence of their institutions and buildings, which speak of their architectural

* Khan Bahadur Kazi Shahabuddin, C.I.E., Dewan of Baroda, September 29th 1882–July 31st 1886.

interests and ability as well as of their powers of governing. It is an unfortunate thing that a race like this, in these days of peace, should have sunk to a level which is anything but their natural one. (Cheers.) It ought, therefore, to be the duty of every intelligent citizen worthy of the name of Muslim to promote the well-being of the community as much as lies in his power. Allow me again to thank you for the honour done to me in affording me this opportunity of visiting your institution. You have my sympathy, and you will receive a contribution as a mark of my interest in your endeavours. (Cheers.)

XXIV

Also on the 3rd of September the Maharaja went over the premises of the Madras Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.

His Highness, replying to words of welcome, said that it was not possible for him just at the entrance to make any remarks about the institution itself. For thus, without looking over the various portions of it, he might say something inconsistent with the true state of things inside. The love and regard for animals is very much inculcated by Hindu religion and morality, and nobody practised it more than the Jains who formed a great part of the population of Gujarat. Not merely as a matter of sentiment but also of their religion they did their utmost to safeguard the interests of dumb animals when they became helpless. Nothing had struck His Highness more powerfully while in England than the attention paid to animals and their injuries, although Englishmen were people who look at things from the utilitarian point of view and not as persons who are moved by sentiment and emotion as those living in a warmer

climate like that of India. His Highness was glad to hear that the citizens of Madras translated their sentiments into practical help for the poor animals. Promising that he would forward a contribution to the President of the Society, His Highness, after inspecting the various portions of the premises, was garlanded and left the place amidst cheers.

XXV

THE REVIVAL OF INDUSTRY IN INDIA

A Speech delivered by His Highness at the Opening of an Industrial Exhibition at Ahmedabad on the 15th of December 1902.

GENTLEMEN,—If I hesitated to accept your invitation to preside at the opening of this Exhibition, the importance of the occasion must be my excuse. You called me to step into the breach, to face publicly the most tremendous question of our times and to give you my solution of a problem on which no two people agree, except that it is urgent.

But I do not think that we realise how urgent it is. Famine, increasing poverty, widespread disease; all these bring home to us the fact that there is some radical weakness in our system and that something must be done to remedy it. But there is another and a larger aspect of the matter and that is that this economic problem is our last ordeal as a people. It is our last chance. Fail there and what can the future bring us? We can only grow poorer and weaker, more dependent on foreign help; we must watch our industrial freedom fall into extinction and drag out a miserable existence as the hewers of wood and drawers of water to any foreign power which happens to be our master. Solve that problem and you have a great future before you, the future of a great people, worthy of your ancestors and of your old position among the nations.

Two years ago I stood looking at the wonders of that great Exhibition at Paris which summed up in so striking

a manner the progress of a century in civilisation, industry and commerce. If I were asked what struck me most in that noble and artistic effort of a great nation, I should answer: the magnificent proportions and excellent management of the undertaking, so vast in conception and admirable in execution; the efficiency of the orderly and illuminating arrangement and careful accuracy of detail; and after that, the extraordinary ingenuity displayed in the educational section in methods and appliances; and not only the ingenuity but the thoroughness of these methods, especially in the exhibits of Germany and America. But besides these two special exhibits, that which struck me most profoundly was the enormous difference between India and Europe to-day. Those vast halls crowded with shining steel work, the fruits of the combined industry and genius of a dozen nations; the amazing richness of texture and delicacy of design in the products of those machines; the vigorous life and aspiration which glowed in the Art, as well as the clear precision of the knowledge reflected in the Science; all this impressed me more than I can say.

But beyond all this triumph of Man over Nature and her powers, one fact struck me with a curious emphasis—the enormous gulf which separates the European and the native of India in their ideas of comfort. There rose up before me the interior of a typical Indian home, and as I contrasted it with the truly surprising inventions around me, all devoted to that one object, refinement, our much-boasted simplicity seemed bare and meagre beyond description. I contrasted those empty rooms—without even a chair or a table—with the luxury, the conveniences, which are the necessaries of a European cottage. My mind went back to the bazaar in my own city of Baroda, the craftsmen working at their old

isolated trades with the methods which have sufficed them for centuries without a change, the low irregular houses, the dreamy life drifting between them, and then contrasted it all with this keen and merciless tide which was sweeping and eddying around me, drawing its needs from a thousand machines like these and gathering its comforts from the four quarters of the globe. And with the contrast I had a vivid sense of the enormous gulf which we have to bridge over before India can be said to be on the same plane as the European nations.

And yet, I thought, there is a change coming over India. The appearance of our houses is being altered by the revolution which is being made in their furniture. It is slow, for there are many who deplore it and speak of it in tones of regret as a process of denationalisation and a fall from simplicity to a burdensome and costly luxury. But the change is rather in the direction in which the money is spent. Our fathers made up by opulence of material for the poverty of convenience. The futility of such regrets is shown by the fact that most of these eulogists of the past show in their own houses, even if only in a slight degree, the effects of the tendency which they deplore. I do not mean that we should dispense with simplicity; but let it be a wise moderation in the midst of plenty, not the fatalistic acceptance of poverty as a virtue in itself. And there can be no doubt that this tendency, which is now in its initial stage, will grow in strength with the course of years, until with the necessary differences due to climate and other environments it brings us approximately near to the Western mode of living.

But this mode is a rich and costly mode; to maintain it requires easy circumstances and a large diffusion of wealth. A poor country cannot meet its demands. A country with-

out flourishing manufactures must always be a poor country. The future, therefore, imperatively claims this from us, that we shall cease to be a purely agricultural country and vindicate for ourselves some place at least among commercial and manufacturing nations. Otherwise we shall only establish for ourselves the unhappiness of unsatisfied cravings and the benumbing effects of an ideal to which we can make no approach. The cravings must be there, they are inevitable and essential to progress. To attempt to discourage them for political reasons or from social or religious conservatism is unjust and unwise and must eventually prove futile. The true policy is to provide that the cravings shall find means of encouragement. In other words we have to encourage and assist the commercial development of the country and so put it on the only possible road to progress, opulence, and prosperity.

There is a theory which affects to regard the races inhabiting the tropical and subtropical regions of the earth as disinherited by some mysterious law of Nature from all hope of originality, enterprise and leadership. These things belong to the temperate regions; the tropics are to be for ever no more than the field for the energies of the superior races, to whom alone belong empire, civilisation, trade and manufacture. We are to be restricted to a humble subordination, a servile imitation, and to the production of raw materials for their markets. At first sight there seems to be some justification for this theory in existing facts. Our trade is in European hands, our industries are for the most part not our own, our railways are built, owned and managed, by European energy and capital. The Government is European and it is from Europe that we imitate all that we call civilisation. Our immobile and disorganised society compares

ill with the enlightened energy and cohesion of Europe; even at our best we seem to be only the hands that execute, not the head that originates.

Yet even if we accept this picture of ourselves without the necessary modifications, we need not accept this interpretation of inherent inferiority. For my part I demur to any such hasty generalisation: yet however much of it be true be sure that there is no law of Nature which can prevent you from changing it. To suppose that any nation can be shut out from the operation of the law of Evolution is utterly unscientific, and, in the light of history, absurd.

Granted that originality among us is low, that enterprise is deficient, and that leadership has passed out of our hands; is there in the first place no qualification to the entire truth of the assertion? And in the second, is this state of things due to immutable causes and therefore of old existence, or is it the result of recent and removable tendencies? It is true that such originality and power as we still possess has hitherto busied itself mostly in other paths than those of industry and the sciences which help industry. It has worked chiefly on the lines of Religion and Philosophy which have always been the characteristic bent of the national mind, continuing through Rammohan Ray, Dayanand Saraswati and Keshavchandra Sen, the long and unbroken line of great religious teachers from Gautama to Chaitanya and Kabir. It is true that teachings of fatalism and inactive detachment have depressed the vitality of the people. Yet there is no reason to believe that this depression and this limitation are not removable and are constitutional.

But it is not only in Religion that we were great. We had amongst us brave soldiers like Shivaji, Hyderali, Mahadji Scindia and Ranjitsingh. Can we not again claim to have

had an important share in the establishment of that mighty structure—the Indian Empire—erected indeed by the clear-sighted energy and practical genius of England, but on the foundations of Indian patience, Indian blood and Indian capital?

It is not an insignificant symptom that, considering how recent and meagre is scientific education in India, we should be able to show at least some names that are familiar to European scientists, not to speak of others enjoying a deserved reputation among ourselves. Small as these things may seem, they are yet enough to overthrow the theory of constitutional incapacity. And if we consider classes rather than individuals, can it be denied that the Parsis are an enterprising and industrially capable race? Or can it be doubted that the community which could produce a leader in industry and philanthropy like Mr Tata, will, as circumstances improve, take a leading place in the commercial world? Or can enterprise and commercial capacity be denied to classes like the Bhatias, Khojas and the merchants of Sindh? When we have individuals and classes like these in our midst we may well enquire why it is that we stand so poorly in industry and commerce, without fearing that the answer, however ungratifying to our feelings, will lead us to despair.

But if this theory of the inferiority of the tropical races be untrue; if we find that in the past we had great men whose influence is with us even to-day; we must look for some other cause for the difference, and ask what it is that India has not to-day but which she had in that older stage of her history and which Europe has at the present day. We have not far to seek. It is obvious that it is the clear and practical examination of Life and Nature which men call Science,

and its application to the needs of Life which men call Industry, in which we are deficient and in which Europe excels. And if we question the past we learn that this is exactly what has not come down to us through the ages along with our Religion and Philosophy.

Our early history is scanty and, in many respects, uncertain, but no uncertainty, no scantiness can do away with the fact that this was once a great commercial people. We see a very wealthy nation with organised guilds of artisans, a flourishing inland commerce, a large export and import trade. We hear of busy and flourishing ports through which the manufactures of India flowed out to Europe, to Arabia and Persia, and from which, in those early times, we sent out our delicate cotton textures, our chintz and muslin, our silk cloth and silk thread, a fine quality of steel; indigo, sugar, spices and drugs; diamonds, ivory and gold. In return we received brass, tin and lead, coral, glass, antimony; woollen cloth and wines from Italy, and also specie and bullion.

All through the Middle Ages, our manufactures and industries were at a very high level. Every traveller attests the existence of large and flourishing towns (a sure index of industrial prosperity), and praises the skill and ingenuity of our workmen. It was on the Eastern trade that Venice built her greatness, for then we were indeed the "Gorgeous East". Notice, that it is especially in the manufactures which required delicate work, originality of design, or instinctive taste that our products were famous; our carving, our inlaid work and our gossamer cloth.

Coming now to the earlier part of the last century, what do we find? The carrying trade had passed from the Arabs to the East India Company and with it, too, the control of nearly all our exports, especially those in indigo, iron and

steel, and the newly imported industries in tobacco, tea and coffee. But there was still a large body of trade in Indian hands; even then our manufactures held their own and were far superior to those of Europe; even then there were thousands of skilled artisans; and we supplied our own wants and exported enormous quantities of goods to other countries. Where, then, has all this trade gone and what has caused our decline?

The most obvious answer is, as I have said, the difference between Europe and India in industrial methods and appliances. But this is not quite sufficient to explain it. A deeper examination of the facts at our disposal shows that the life had almost left Indian industry before Europe had brought her machines to any remarkable development, and long before those wonderful changes which the application of chemistry and electricity have more recently wrought in industry. Nor can we ascribe it to a superiority which England possessed in industrial and technical education, for at that time there was no such training and England has never relied on it for commercial capacity. If we go a little deeper into the matter we find that there is a further reason which does not depend on the natural working of economic laws but which is political in its nature, the result of the acquisition of political power by the East India Company and the absorption of India into the growing British Empire.

As Mr Dutt shows in his able *Economic History of British India*, this political change had the gravest effect on our economic life. In the first place we had the economic policy of the East India Company which, so far as its export trade was concerned, accepted manufactures indeed, but paid an equal, if not greater, attention to raw materials. Even our internal trade was taken from us by the policy of the

East India Company; there were heavy transit duties on all inland commerce and there were commercial Residents in every part of the Company's possessions, who managed to control the work of the local artisans, and so thoroughly that outside their factories all manufacture came to an end.

On this came the protective policy of the British Government, which, despite the powerful interests of the East India Company, crushed Indian manufactures by prohibitive duties. Then came the application of steam to manufacture. It is scarcely to be wondered at, if with all this against us at home and abroad, our manufactures declined and with the great advance in the improvement in machinery and the initiation of a Free Trade policy, this decline was hastened into ruin.

Moreover, a country not exporting manufactures is necessarily stagnant, and commercial progress and self-adaptability cease. Once the manufacturing superiority of India had been transferred to England, it was impossible for the weaker country to recover its position without some measure of protection. Not only was the struggle in itself unequal but the spectacle of a mighty commerce, overshadowing and dominating ours, flooding our markets and taking away our produce for its own factories, induced a profound dejection, hopelessness and inertia among our people. Unable to react against that dominating force we came to believe that the inability was constitutional and inherent in ourselves; there is a tendency in fact to hypnotise ourselves into apathy by continual repetition of the formula that Indians, as a race, are lacking in enterprise, deficient in business faculties, barren in organising power. If, therefore, I have dwelt upon our old manufactures and commerce and the way in which they were crushed, it is

not with the unprofitable object of airing an old grievance, but in order to point out that there is no reason for this discouraging view of ourselves. We were a trading and manufacturing country from ancient times down to the present century, and if our manufactures have fallen into decay, our commerce languished, it was under a burden which would have crushed the most flourishing industry of the most energetic people.

Our weakness lies in this that we have for many years lain prostrate under a fictitious sense of our own helplessness and made no adequate attempt to react against our circumstances. We have succumbed where we should have exhausted every possibility of resistance and remedy. We have allowed the home-keeping propensities and the out-of-date semi-religious prejudices, which have gathered round the institution of caste, to prevent us from choosing the line of activity most consonant with our abilities, or from seeking in other lands for fresh markets and the knowledge of new industries.

The restriction against foreign travel is one of the most serious obstacles in the way of commercial success and must be utterly swept away, if we are not to go on stagnating. It is a pity that communities like the Bhatias should be restrained by an out-worn prejudice from going abroad and furthering that task of development for which they are so admirably fitted. The endeavours hitherto made have been, with few exceptions, sporadic, half-hearted and prematurely abandoned; and the support given to them by the public has been scanty, wanting in confidence and in personal and active interest. It is this state of things which must cease before we can hope to revive our own manufactures, to establish firmly and extend those which exist, and to set

on foot any new industries which our needs demand, and for which the conditions offer sufficient opportunity. Then India may again be what she was in the past and what she is so admirably fitted by nature to be, a self-sufficing country; famous for artistic and useful industries. To raise her again to this should be the ideal of every patriotic citizen. But in order that the ideal may be realised we need, first: knowledge of our possibilities, of the means and facilities necessary to success, and of the lines on which activity would be best repaid; and secondly: belief in ourselves and in each other so that our knowledge may not fail for want of co-operation.

If we get these, if we realise the progress of Science and mechanical invention and resolutely part with old and antiquated methods of work, if we liberate ourselves from hampering customs and superstitions, none of which are an essential part of our religion; if, instead of being dazed in imagination by the progress of Europe, we learn to examine it intelligently, and meet it with our own progress, there will be no reason for us to despair; but if we fail in this we must not hope to occupy a place in the civilised and progressive world.

To speak with any fullness on this subject is not possible within the short limit of time at my disposal. I shall, therefore, pass lightly over a few salient points; for, the lines of activity open to us and calling for our energies are unlimited in their extent, variety and promise. This country is not poor in its resources, but may rather be said to be blessed by Nature in many respects; its mineral wealth is anything but contemptible; its soil produces valuable and useful products in great variety and abundance; the provision of water power is also unstinted. We have an excess

of cheap labour and we have hereditary artisans who are quick in hand and eye, and who only need to be properly trained to make them the equals, if not the superiors, of their rivals. If there are certain serious disadvantages and defects in its mineral wealth such as the inferiority of its coal supplies, and in its vegetable products, such as the greater coarseness of its cotton and the difficulty of growing the finest silk, yet so great is the advance Science has made that we need not despair of meeting some of these difficulties at least in part. Nor is there any imperative necessity that we should always vie with other countries in producing the very best. If we utilise to the best advantage what Nature has given us and advance in such manufactures as the country is fitted for, we shall have done no inconsiderable task. What is required is greater knowledge, a more earnest endeavour of the Government towards improvement and the provision of facilities, and more serious activity on the part of the people to take advantage of such facilities as already exist. We need improvement in agriculture, and facilities in industries; for in a country like India, which produces or can produce the bulk of its own raw material, the agricultural question cannot be separated from the industrial.

Improvement in agriculture is necessary to secure an increased quantity and improved quality of the produce of our fields. What Science can do for agriculture, the development of the beet-sugar industry and the improvement of cotton clearly show; and as sugar and cotton are two of the most important of our products and especially of our export trade, I wish to call your attention to what has been done by our rivals.

Beet-sugar cultivation has been gradually developed by

careful selection of the best roots and the application of agricultural chemistry, until the percentage of saccharine has been doubled and trebled. Here is the remedy for Indian sugar. We must not be ashamed to borrow our rivals' tactics, but strive hard to get for example for our cane sugar the very best canes and take care to use nothing but the very best methods of cultivation and manufacture.

The same is true of cotton. It is certain that the competition which Indian cotton has to meet will be much intensified in the near future; and our only hope of meeting it successfully is to improve our indigenous varieties up to a point at which they can hold their own. I believe that we can do this, but it demands the most patient researches and above all that, when the best variety has been discovered, the cultivator will really grow it.

Science is our great hope, but there is one great obstacle to be overcome before Science can help us, and that is the ignorance and apathy which is the general condition of the agricultural classes at present.

The failure of the old arts and crafts, and especially that of arms, has thrown vast numbers back on the soil, and these classes are neither intelligent nor progressive. Many old professions are dying out and while those, who should have followed them, go back to the land, many of these professions are not such as to provide any hereditary capacity for agriculture. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, if our Indian cultivators, despite their traditional skill, are neither enterprising nor capable of undertaking improvements which demand considerable energy and foresight. Their methods, despite Dr Voelcker's high encomiums, are backward, their resources are very limited, and their implements, though they may be those best suited to their narrow means

and small holdings, are old and economically wasteful. But their most serious drawback is their helplessness. There is a general complaint that the soil is deteriorating, but that they can do nothing to remedy it; and in times of scarcity and famine they seem incapable of doing anything to help themselves. This is a most serious question and one which demands all our attention.

In the first place this deterioration of the soil is a very real danger. Do you know that the average product per acre has in some parts of the country diminished by 50 per cent. since the middle of the seventeenth century, when the *Ain-i-Akbari* was compiled? Is it any wonder that the peasant grows poorer, or that his resources diminish?

Our remedies must fall under two heads: (1) the improvement of methods, implements and general conditions; and (2) education.

In the first place attempts to introduce new implements have nearly all failed. Iron flails and threshing machines have been tried at one time or another, but the ryot will have none of them. At the same time this does not mean that the old implements are the best that the wit of man can devise, or that we are to suppose that past failure is conclusive.

Another matter to which Government has given some attention has been cattle-breeding. The results so far have not been encouraging, though there are Government farms at Hissar and at Bhatgaum in Khandesh, and another called the Amrit Mahal, maintained by the Mysore Government, from which are derived certain superior breeds of cattle to be found in the Madras Presidency.

Until we can get the co-operation of the people the results must be disappointing. Nevertheless, I think that there is a great deal of good work to be done on these lines and I am

of opinion that besides improving the breed of cattle much might be done in the way of encouraging the ryots to breed other stock, such as horses, mules, etc. It is a thousand pities that our Indian breeds of horses should be dying out and that there seems to be no sensible effort made to keep them alive. Perhaps the chief reason that Government breeding farms have failed is that they are too elaborate for the people in their present condition. I believe that much might be done by reviving the old custom of keeping sacred bulls in every village and taking care that the bulls supplied were the best that could be procured. Much might be done if the cultivator could be persuaded to breed only from the best animals.

Instead of helping ourselves we always depend upon Government; here is an instance where people can, with advantage, help themselves. To it I would add the planting of trees, which are of economic value, around the cultivators' fields and the encouragement of the fibrous plants which are now articles of commerce. There is further the question of good drainage to relieve the bad effects of irrigation. A serious endeavour should be made to help the ryot to sow only the best seed and to pay some attention to the best rotation of crops.

In a country like India, where the introduction of improved implements is so limited in its possibilities, and where everything depends upon the timeliness and sufficiency of the annual rains, it is irrigation that must necessarily take the largest place in all plans of agricultural improvement. This importance of irrigation has been recognised by the successive rulers of this country from the times of the ancient Hindu kings. From the days of Asoka, and before him, the digging of wells and tanks had been the subject

of royal edicts and one of the first religious duties of princes, zemindars and wealthy philanthropists. The number of small tanks in ruins that one finds in the districts, the multitude of old wells that still exist round about Muslim capitals; above all, the immense system of artificial reservoirs in the Madras Presidency, bear testimony to the steady persistence of this old tradition of administrative benevolence. In the Southern Presidency there are over 6000 tanks mainly of native origin, the magnitude of which will be best remembered when it is understood that the embankments measure over 30,000 miles with 300,000 separate masonry works, and that these tanks irrigate over 34 lakhs of acres, an area almost equal to that irrigated by the entire system of the major and minor works of the Madras Presidency. These works were getting out of repair in the troublous times of the eighteenth century, when general disorder and mal-administration, the usual concomitants of any violent change in the form of Government, prevailed in our country. When they occupied the country the British, with their characteristic administrative energy, not only put them in order but in many cases improved and enlarged them. They have brought, or kept under irrigation, an area of little less than 20,000,000 acres at the cost of forty-two crores of rupees; and the work has been done with so much judgment and success that the works yield a profit of nearly 7 per cent. and the produce raised equals 98 per cent. of the total capital outlay. Not content with this they are now undertaking to prepare and gradually execute a scheme of protective works which, when complete, should do much to insure the country against famine. The work in irrigation will always be one of the most splendid and irreproachable chapters in the history of British Rule.

The proposed extension of irrigation works would also offer to the capitalists of the country a very eligible field for the investment of their surplus savings. If the people only co-operate they would find irrigation projects a very profitable channel for investment; and if they fail to take advantage of the favourable opportunity, one need not be surprised if European capital is extensively employed in their development as has been done in the case of railways in India. I trust the Government on its part will also offer more than usual inducements to attract private Indian capital in these profitable undertakings.

Besides great irrigation works there is another way in which much might be done to protect the country against the effects of drought, that is, by encouraging the digging of wells. This is a method well adapted for States which have no facilities for works on a grand scale. In my own territories I have found that the advance of *taccavi*, for this purpose, was a measure which the cultivator could understand, and, under the guidance of experienced officers, one which worked well. At the same time large irrigation works have been commenced in various parts of the territory, and a survey is being made for the repair of old tanks and the utilisation of favourable spots for the storage of water.

But it must not be forgotten that irrigation will not end all our troubles. Indeed, unless it is accompanied by a considerable measure of intelligence and foresight, it brings others in its train, such as the debilitation of the soil. The remedy for this is, of course, the use of artificial manures which will restore to the soil some of the qualities that are removed from it by over-irrigation. Here we are at once faced by our usual want of foresight and ignorance of which I have already spoken. In face of the deterioration of the

soil, which I have mentioned as a widespread evil, widely acknowledged, it is inconceivable to me that we should seek to encourage the export of cotton-seeds on which so much of the efficiency of the simple manure, which we use here, in Gujarat, depends. Yet the value of this export has risen in one year from five to twenty lakhs of rupees, and it is certain that at this rate the cattle will have to go without it, and that their manure will become practically valueless. An artificial manure is, therefore, a crying necessity.

Another point is the growth of deep-rooted grasses which can resist drought and so prevent the terrible mortality of cattle which was so painfully marked in the late famine. We must follow the example of Australia in this matter and find indigenous deep-rooted grasses which we can plant systematically on waste land, and then, when we are cursed with another season of drought, we shall have something to meet it with.

Before we can hope that the ryot will try to employ measures which demand a high level of intelligence and scientific knowledge, we must awaken his curiosity and enlist his sympathy, which can only be done by a good system of general education. Without it our best endeavours are bound to fail. Government has established Agricultural Colleges and model farms in different parts of the country, but agriculture has been but little improved in consequence. Partly, I think, this is due to the vastness of the area and to the great variety of local conditions, for each district has its own difficulties to meet and overcome. But the main reason for the failure is, I believe, the indifference and apathy of the people themselves. Another reason is the fact that these measures have come from outside and not from the people. However imperfect our education may be, it is equally

lamentable that it has so far affected no more than 5 per cent. of the population of the country. Before any noticeable change can take place, there must be a general feeling among the people that improvement must be made and a desire to take advantage of the efforts of Government to help them. At present, they are more inclined to laugh at our attempts to aid them than to help us by their advice and by showing us where their real difficulties lie. Their criticism, as a rule, is more destructive than educative.

I have found it possible to do something to improve the more backward classes of cultivators by sending more intelligent ryots to show them better methods of cultivation; and the school for the Dhankas at Songadh has been more or less successful. These measures only serve to raise the internal level of the lower agriculture up to the highest of our present system, while the problem is to raise the general level. Perhaps something might be done by agricultural associations which studied local requirements and popularised such improvements as admitted of practical application. But I believe the only change which would do much would be to induce a more intelligent and enterprising class to engage in agriculture.

Over and above all this it is very important that our agriculturists should have cottage industries or some work on which they can usefully engage themselves and the members of their family during the slack season of agriculture. Such would be for the men, wood-carving and the making of toys; and for the women, needle work and embroidery.

I do not think we should stop short at improving our raw materials; I believe we might do much in the way of working them up. The annual review of the Trade of India published

by the Statistical Department of the Government of India teaches us some wholesome lessons, which it would be always useful to remember. They show the large number of objects for which we are at present dependent on foreign factories, but for which we have plenty of raw material at hand, and which, if we only avail ourselves of the latest scientific methods, we can ourselves manufacture. Our endeavour should be to reduce this dependence upon foreign industries, and, where the necessary facilities do not exist for such manufactures at home, we should so improve the quality of our raw material as to enable it to hold its own in the foreign market to which it is sent. The wheat, for instance, which we export at present is used for the manufacture of bread in Europe, but it is scarcely fit to be turned to the many other uses to which it can be put unless it is much improved in quality. The same remarks apply to many of the most ordinary articles of daily use, such as paper, oils, leather, etc. The instance of leather is peculiarly noteworthy. We export the hides and the materials for tanning them, but that is not all. There is a cheaper and more efficient process of cleaning the hides in use in Europe, and the hides are exported to Europe to be cleaned there. Is it impossible for India to tan her own hides, in her own factories, with her own tanning materials? Another point which seems inconceivable when the need for artificial manure is remembered, and that is, that we export bones in large quantities to be turned into bone-manure for the beet-fields of our rivals, and so for their sugar, which we so largely import.

Glass again is an article of which we import a large quantity every year, but which we might manufacture for ourselves. Last year we imported glass of the value of over

ninety lakhs of rupees. In 1887 I made some enquiries into the matter and found that there were raw materials in plenty for the manufacture not only of rough glass, but of glass of the finest quality. I was advised that it would not pay to establish a factory, but the reasons against success were not insuperable. I also made some enquiries into the possibility of manufacturing paper in Gujarat and discovered that there were abundant raw materials of an excellent quality to be obtained here, and that this too was quite feasible.

We have already some glass-blowing factories at Kapadwanj and in the Panjab; paper mills in Bombay, Poona and Bengal; leather tanneries in Madras, Cawnpore and Bombay. It would be interesting to study the quantity and quality of these home products and to compare them with the articles imported from abroad. We may thereby learn the difference and know how to remove their short-comings and extend their sale. Experience is the only path to knowledge, comparison perfects it. Knowledge is the dominant factor in the spirit of the age and the basis of all reform. I would suggest that, of the many manufactures which might be successful in India, it would be advisable to begin with those in which there is a steady local demand, such as soap, candles, glass, furniture, pen-nibs, carpets, etc., and afterwards extend the field of our operations so as to include other and more elaborate articles.

To enable us to take up these manufactures we need a system of industrial education, and for this we have to rely very largely on the assistance of Government. But we must remember that our position is not quite that of any European country in this respect, and that our best model would probably be Japan. Now, Japan, when she aimed at general,

and particularly at industrial, progress, adopted three main lines on which her education was to run. These were, first to send a number of her young men abroad, and especially to Germany, for education; secondly to establish great colleges in Japan itself, the staff of which was at first composed of Europeans; and thirdly to employ the services of Europeans, in the initial stages of her manufactures, under whom her people were gradually trained in efficiency.

Now I should like first to call attention to the last of these, because I think that here we have the solution of a difficulty which has been met with in the case of some industries which have recently been started. I have heard complaints that the quality of the goods turned out was not satisfactory, and from what I heard, it seemed to me that perhaps the failure was due to the incompetence of the directors, or to some culpable laxness in their management, or to our having commenced the enterprise on too impracticable or ambitious a scale, or to our having lost sight of some essential conditions of success at the outset. Some industries may require European skill and supervision to pilot them through their initial stages, and a hasty attempt to dispense with it may lead to disappointing results. But there is another aspect to this apparent incompetence; we have to learn trustworthiness, a capacity for obedience, the art of management, accuracy, punctuality, method and the sense of justice, and the only school which will teach us these is a position in which they are called out by use. To return to the first of the three points: it is obviously impossible to send any very large proportion of our Indian youths abroad, though I think more might be done in this direction. I would appeal to Government and to our philanthropists to see if they cannot help us.

That which will help us most is a largely extended system of technical and general education, such as that on which Germany has built her commercial greatness. It is of course impossible to imitate the German system exactly. But it is not impossible to provide ourselves with a system which will meet our requirements. Though private individuals may do something in the matter, a satisfactory solution of the whole question must depend upon the sympathy and generosity of the Government. I believe that Government could not give a greater boon than such an education, and I think I am voicing the feelings of the educated classes at large, when I say that we are confident that we have not long to wait to see our rulers grapple with this problem, with their usual energy and decision. Meanwhile we must start our factories as best we can, and do the best with our present circumstances. I do not overlook the fact that the odds against us are heavy and that our infant industries have to struggle from the start in an open market with long-established competitors.

I am not afraid of being thought a heretic with regard to economics, if I say that I think we need Protection to enable our industries to reach their growth. The economic history of Germany and America shows that there is a stage in the growth of a nation when Protection is necessary. The laws of Political Economy are not inexorable and must bend to the exigencies of time and place. Theories and doctrines, however plausible, cannot take precedence of plain and practical truths. It is true that Free Trade enables a country to procure at cheaper rates those articles that can be manufactured more conveniently in foreign lands, but this cheapness is dearly bought by the loss of industrial status, and the reduction of a whole people to a helpless proletariat.

National defence against alien industrial inroads is more important than the cheapness of a few articles.

Protection, therefore, if only for a short time, is what we need for our nascent manufactures; for some time must elapse before more perfect methods are naturalised in India and the standard of Indian workmanship attains the excellence of Europe. A high wall of tariffs has secured to American manufactures the home market as an undisputed field for their own development; and India, maimed, and helpless as she has been, may expect that relief from her beneficent Government. Government, like the climate and geographical conditions of a country, has a peculiar force of its own and must leave an indelible impress on the mould of the destinies of nations. It may as powerfully hamper, as promote, the moral and material development of the people entrusted to its care. If the Government were supported by a more informed and intelligent public opinion and if the people, awakened to a sense of national life, were allowed and induced to take a livelier interest in their own concerns and if they worked in unison, they would conduce to mutual strength. Government is a matter of commonsense and compromise, and its aim should be to secure the legitimate interests of the people governed.

But at the same time I would warn you against some false methods of encouraging industry, such as the movement to use no cloth not produced in the country. The idea is quite unsound so far as any economic results go; and the true remedy for any old industry which needs support is to study the market, find out what is wanted and improve the finish of the work and the design until an increasing demand shows that the right direction has been found. This applies particularly to the artistic trades, such as wood-

carving and metal-work for which the country has been so famous and which it would be a pity to allow to die altogether. Among other means of improvement, the education of women in decorative art would bring a fresh economic force into play; and as I ascertained by enquiries in London, made from a desire to find lucrative home industries for our women, and especially for widows, would prove extremely profitable, if the right steps were taken. Tapestry, for instance, is a great women's industry in Switzerland; lacework, cretonne and embroidered cushions could all very well be done by women. Needlework is even now done in Gujarat homes, and if the designs and colourings are improved it might be turned into an active industry, supplying our own wants, and possibly outside demands. Carpet-weaving also, which is now done in several of our jails, might be turned in the same way into a profitable home industry. The main thing is to study the market and not to pursue our own hobbies. It would be necessary to have agents in Europe, who would study European wants, consult professional men and get designs which could be executed in India. Something of the sort is, I believe, done in the School of Arts in Madras. My enquiries in Paris convinced me that in the hands of capable persons this method would be both practicable and profitable.

I would, however, direct your attention more to the establishment of the larger industries involving an extensive use of machinery, for it is upon this that our economic future and any increase of our wealth depends. Before we have a large demand at home for the arts we must produce the wealth to support them, and we shall never have that wealth until we have an economic system on a much broader basis than our present limited industry. With a

little energy and the assistance of Government we can broaden this basis, and then we may look forward to a new lease of life for Indian art and Indian literature and for those industries which depend on leisure and wealth.

I should like now to say a few words on the subject of the assistance which a Government can give in developing the resources of its territories. I have indicated a few ways in which I think Government can help economic development in the direction of education. To these I would add improvements in the means of communication and the establishment of banks and other co-operative institutions. It can also encourage merchants and manufacturers by advances of capital and by granting other facilities.

Native States in India, seriously handicapped as they are by their limited means and scope and the want of trained men, though they cannot emulate their great exemplar, the British Government, seem to limit themselves, as yet, too much to the routine of administration, and might do more for the material and commercial development of the country. Granted freedom of action, and with proper endeavour, I am inclined to think that many States in Central India, Rajputana and elsewhere would be able to get even more treasure out of the bowels of the earth than Mysore and Hyderabad at present obtain. But Government help has its limits.

My experience teaches me that it is very difficult for Government to provide industries for its people in the absence of a real business spirit amongst the people themselves. It is very difficult for so impersonal an entity as Government to get capable managers or to supervise its enterprises properly. I have tried various measures in my own State, but I am sorry to say that the results are dis-

appointing. A sugar mill, a cotton mill and an ice factory were tried, but were not a success. A State fund for the advance of capital and other assistance to manufacturers also failed. I found that the managers were not sufficiently interested in the scheme and not impartial in the working of it. I am convinced, however, that the fault lay not with the industries themselves but in the fact that they were State enterprises.

I have also made an experiment in technical education. I founded an institution called the Kala-Bhavan with departments in dyeing and weaving, carpentry and mechanical engineering, and with the object of diffusing technical education I had branches of it set up in various parts of the Raj. The response among the people was so faint that after a time the institution had to be contracted within narrower limits. Until the means of the people and the material wealth of the country expand, there can be but little demand for the work which such institutes turn out. So far, the Kala-Bhavan has done but little beyond providing skilled dyers for Bombay mills; and until the people co-operate more earnestly its utility will not be recognised. Once more it is the prevailing ignorance which hampers every movement to help the people. They are sunk in a fatalistic apathy and do not care to learn how to help themselves.

I have omitted to refer to the many endeavours made by other Indian States in the same direction, not because they are not worth mentioning. The wonderful Cauvery electric power scheme and the irrigation projects of the Mysore and Jaipur States, as well as the fine Technical School at Jaipur, are indisputably entitled to a high rank in the record of such laudable work. I have to pass them over for want of time and adequate information of all their details.

It is the general lack of education and intelligence which hampers us at every turn and has been our ruin. Once we can make education general we may hope for increased dexterity, an increased power of concentration, increased trustworthiness and quickness to discover new processes. We need these qualities in every class of Indian society. Education in England has diffused a spirit of self-reliance and a capacity for initiative; education in Germany aims at thorough knowledge, methodical application and exact learning; but education in India has hitherto aimed only at providing a certain amount of food for thought without ever touching the mental capacity or character.

I do not think that the plea that our industries are poor for want of capital is one that can be sustained. We have more capital than we imagine to develop our resources if we would only use it. But we lack the active foresight always seeking the best investments. We prefer to hoard our savings in our women's ornaments, or to invest it in Government securities at low rates of interest, when we might be using it in ways which would be profitable to the country at large, as well as to ourselves, such as agricultural improvements, insurance of agricultural stock and the establishment of factories. And that is especially true of some Indian States which invest their surplus capital in Government securities, instead of using it in the development of the resources of their own territories.

This is not, however, our only fault. There is another fault which is nearly as fatal to any system of industry, and that is our lack of confidence in ourselves and in one another. Without self-confidence you can never do anything; you will never found an industry or build up a trade, for you have nothing to carry you through the first anxious years

when the only dividend is hope, and the best assets are unfaltering courage and faith in oneself. And without confidence in one another you will never have a credit system, and without a credit system no modern commerce can exist. It is this want of co-operation, this mutual distrust which paralyses Indian industry, ruins the statesman, and discredits the individual even in his own household. I believe that this trait of our character, though in some cases arising from our obvious defects and instances of actual misconduct among ourselves, is mainly due to the fact that the nation has long been split up into incoherent units, but also to the ignorance and restricted vision which result from our own exclusiveness. We have denied ourselves the illuminating experience of foreign travel and are too prone to imagine that weaknesses are confined to India. Failures and defalcations are as common in Europe as among ourselves; and yet we allow ourselves to be too easily discouraged by such incidents. Hence arises the habit of censorious judgment, a disposition to put the worst construction on the conduct of our friends and relatives, without trying to find the truth, which destroys all trust and tolerance. Our view of the conduct of friends, of the policies of administrations, of the success and integrity of commercial undertakings, are all vitiated by a readiness to believe the worst. It is only when we learn to suspend judgment and know the man and the motive before we criticise, that we shall be able to repose trust where trust is due. We must stiffen our character and educate ourselves up to a higher moral standard.

We despair too easily. Let us remember that we must expect failures at first; but that it is those who learn from failure that succeed. Moreover, as any one may learn from

a survey of the present state of industry, there is evidence that some do succeed. We have not, of course, made the most of our opportunities, but it is worth while remembering that something has been done because it shows us what it is possible to do, and encourages us to do it. If any one wishes to know, in more detail, what has been done and what might be done, he could not do better than consult Mr Ranade's excellent book on the subject.

And now let me say a word about this Exhibition and its aims. I take it that an Exhibition is intended to draw together the scattered threads of industrial activity, so that the members of any trade may learn not only what is the latest development in their own trade, but also what other trades are doing, and what in the other trades is likely to help them. Then it is hoped that the spectacle of advance and improvement will arouse emulation and suggest new ideas and also draw industries together. But are the conditions in India such that we may hope for this? I fear not; I fear that the *ryot* will not yet come to learn from us and that there will be few craftsmen who will go away with new ideas and the memory of new processes. Nevertheless, we should not despair.

It should be remembered that a similar difficulty was experienced in England in connection with the Workmen's Institutes which sprang up all over the country in response to Dr George Birkbeck's suggestions. The object was to provide the mechanic with lectures on his own trade; but the attempt at first largely failed from the incapacity of the working man to learn anything from the lectures. Lectures and exhibitions bear fruit only when the people have received sufficient general education to make them mentally receptive and deft in adaptation and invention. When that

goal is reached, such exhibitions may most usefully be turned into local museums, and if possible a syllabus of instruction attached to the exhibits. On the other hand, there is yet another function which exhibitions perform and which is equally useful, and that is their influence as general education among the classes whose intelligence is already aroused, and who go away with a new sense of what there is to learn. Life is not yet all machinery which it takes an expert to understand, and there are many new ideas which the collection of the most recent efforts in Art and Science in one place can inspire, and especially is this true if there is the comparison of the old with the new.

But before any of these undertakings and enterprises, which I have mentioned, can succeed, India must be thoroughly awakened. Understand what this means. It means action. There is no reality in our social reform, our political progress, our industrial revival, because, as you know, there is scarcely one of us who dares to act even in his own household.

You complain of an over-centralised Government, of the evils of heavy custom charges, of inland excise duties on cotton, of the treatment given to your emigrants, and the want of a legitimate share by the people in their own Government. There may be much in your complaints, but until you realise that the ultimate remedy lies in your own hands and that you have to carry it out by yourselves, no external reform can help you.

That awakening, that realisation is your share of the work, you who know something of Western thought and Western methods, and who imitate much from the West. But to the bulk of the population it does not apply so simply. The masses of India are lost in a hopeless ignorance, and

that is why they are so intensely conservative and lacking in confidence and initiative. We cling to old customs because we do not know that they are not essential to our religion, and we dare not adopt new ideas or establish new industries because we do not know how to set about it. But there is another side to this ignorance and that is that we let our old customs hamper us and blind us in the present, because we do not understand the past.

Remember two inevitable tendencies in history: one, that no system, however perfect, however glorious, however far-reaching, can go on for 2000 years (or 200 for that matter) without enormous changes being made in it simply by time; the other, that the religious, the political and mental conditions of a nation are indissolubly connected and interwoven, so that you cannot alter a single feature in one of them without changing all three. Now apply these principles to the past.

From 500 A.C. we find a steady decline in the political and mental condition of the country down to the two centuries of darkness from which we emerged into the periods of the Rajputs and the Muslim conquest. Follow the fortunes of India down the next eight centuries and note the steady decline in Hindu power, both political and mental, till we come to the time when Europeans obtained a firm footing in India and conquered the country with very slender means, meeting and solving each problem as it arose. For 1400 years the record is one of steady decline in political and mental nationality. How then can religion have fared, and especially all those social institutions which depend on religion? Surely it is clear that just as our trade and our political power collapsed before the attacks made upon them because they were

inefficient, the other features of our system cannot have escaped degradation and that in clinging to them blindly we are clinging to the very tendencies, the very forces that have dragged us down. The fact that we cling so tightly to them has ruined both them and us. Consider the effects of cumulative physical heredity on the capacity of any caste when the action, for which that caste and its institutions were designed, is taken out of its power.

Here then is the problem: to carry out a great change in this respect, to realise our ignorance and to make up our minds to face the question, how and what to change boldly and altogether. We have changed before when it has suited our convenience, adopting details from the Muslims when it fell in with our wishes, and many of us, even our conservatives, are European in their tastes at times. It is obvious that much of our religion and many of our social institutions of to-day have nothing in them except perhaps a faint shadow of their old vigour and glory on which our old greatness was founded.

India needs a great national movement in which each man will work for the nation and not for himself or for his caste, a movement carried out on common-sense lines. It does not mean that we are to adopt a brand-new system from Europe, but it does mean that we must borrow a little common-sense in our solutions of the problems of life.

We must resolutely see what we need, and if we find a plain and satisfactory solution adopt it whether we have traditional authority for it or not. Turn to the past and see what made India great, and if you find anything in our present customs which does not square with what you find there, make up your minds to get rid of it boldly, without thinking that it will ruin you to do so. Study the past till

you know what knowledge you can get from it which you can use in the present and add to it what the West can teach us, especially in the application of Science to the needs of life.

You, Gentlemen, are the leaders of India, and if you fail, she fails. Let each of you make up his mind that he will live by what his reason tells him is right, no matter whether it be opposed or approved by any sage, custom or tradition. Think, and then act at once. Enough time has been wasted in waiting for time to solve our problems. Wait no longer but strike and strike home.

We have our "ancient régime" of custom and prejudice to overcome: let us meet them by a new Liberty, Equality and Fraternity; a Liberty of action, Equality of opportunity and the Fraternity of a great national ideal. Then you may hope to see India a nation again, with a national art and a national literature and a flourishing commerce, and then, but not till then, may you demand a national government.

I should like to pay a personal tribute to the organisers of this Exhibition, for the trouble and energy they have expended in making this collection of Indian arts and industry so fine and representative a collection; and to the local authorities and their able head, Mr Lely, the popular Commissioner, whose name will ever be a household word in Gujarat for his unfailing kindness in famine and plenty, who has taken so encouraging an interest in this Exhibition.

Surely it is a good omen for the success of our industrial revival that this Exhibition takes place in Ahmedabad, a town long famous for its enterprise and energy, which already possesses factories and industrial connections of importance with the industrial world. If only we had a few

more Ahmedabads, India would not have long to wait for a real revival of her commerce.

And last of all, I have to pray for the long life, happiness and prosperity of His Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor, whose accession we are about to celebrate in so splendid a manner and whose reign will, we trust, inaugurate a new period of strong and prosperous national life for India, which will make her the brightest jewel in that Imperial Diadem.

XXVI

On the forty-first anniversary of his birth, on the 17th of March 1903, the boys and girls of the local vernacular schools assembled in the Durbar Hall of the Laxmi Vilas Palace, Baroda, to do honour to His Highness the Thakor Saheb of Gondal, a State in Kathiawar, who was on a visit to His Highness the Maharaja. The proceedings opened with a programme of songs, recitations, *garbhas*, and dialogues, in Gujarati, Marathi, Urdu and Sanskrit, and drill by the younger girls. His Highness made a short Speech and distributed prizes to those who had shown conspicuous merit.

In the course of his remarks His Highness dwelt upon the reforms the Thakor Saheb had made in his State, mentioning among others the inauguration of the Girasis College, a unique and splendid institution, tending to the amelioration of the condition of the fallen race of the Girasis of Kathiawar. His example was offered for imitation to the ruling princes of India: if adopted by the majority of them, it would go far towards removing the grounds for blame commonly thrown upon them by administrators.

Among the various means for the attainment of this laudable object, His Highness alluded to the quality of education which should be bestowed upon the young princes. The character of the training must be precisely

suited to the requirements of the rising generation of the princely class. They should be alive to the duties of Government and the qualities of good administration, especially the dependence of reform and public good upon the keen sense and sound judgment of the princes, who controlled the destinies of their subjects. He was indeed conscious of the limitations under which an Indian prince had to work, but at least the latter, with his higher education, might grapple with the problems of administration with success. The people could also bestir themselves and contribute much to the elevation and regeneration of the country. No doubt the benighted condition of the masses acted as a drag on the wheels of progress, and if India is to rise, the majority of the people must shake off their lethargy and try to acquire and disseminate knowledge.

The Thakor Saheb of Gondal had done much towards making good roads, tramways and railways, thereby facilitating traffic and commerce, and the interchange of views and thoughts among his subjects. An Indian prince should think it his duty to attend to this sort of reform in his State, as it was pregnant with many benefits to the public.

His Highness said he had many reforms to introduce in his own realm. Among them he emphasised the imperative necessity of having a male Training College for supplying efficient teachers to schools; of establishing a vernacular High School with a view to imparting a knowledge of science and higher literature. He was however deterred from putting into practice his views on these subjects by the financial stress due to the unfortunate series of bad seasons. He could not let the opportunity pass without referring to two things he had thought of in the course of the display. He should be pleased to see some physical exercise, such

as drill, practised by the girls, and exhorted Miss Bhore, the Lady Superintendent, and her assistants to persevere in the useful work they had been doing in this direction, as it conduced to the physical well-being of the girls. Drill is a necessity in the curriculum, with it they would not only improve the physique of the fair pupils themselves, but also that of posterity. It was indispensable both to boys and girls.

Another item to which he said he wished to allude was that the views on morality were different with different individuals, because it was looked at from different standpoints. According to his notion, the difference resolved itself into two principal tendencies, one leading to religion and the other to *saṃsāra*, i.e. mundane comfort. The religious aspect of the problem related to the popular desire of achieving bliss in the hereafter by means of moral behaviour. The other tendency concerned itself with happiness and long life, rightly deemed to be the fruit of moral actions practised in this life. In either case the need of morality was justified, and he would appeal to all to put forth earnest endeavours to reap the benefits flowing from good moral conduct.

XXVII

While staying in Kashmir in 1903 His Highness took advantage of a number of opportunities for showing his great interest in education and his keen sympathy for all serious efforts to promote it in any part of India and in any community. Having visited a Hindu school, a few days later, on the 30th of May, he went to see the Muslim institution, the Madrassa Nusrat-ul-Islam. He questioned the boys, paying especial attention to their knowledge of religious subjects. He made a short speech in Urdu, expressing pleasure in visiting a Muslim school in that part of India. He signified his

intention of encouraging the work of the Madrassa by sending to it a liberal donation, hoping that they would see that it would be well spent.

In the course of his remarks His Highness observed that the people being poor required liberal support in their endeavours. Hindus and Muslims should co-operate with each other in the cause of education. In his own State there existed Hindu and Muslim schools, and the people had an equal share in the services of the State. This city is in great need of a technical school. The art work of *pashmina* was a good example of the skill of the people, and he hoped that higher education would enable them to rise to the level of the people of other principal cities of India. It was however even more necessary to introduce the education of girls and women. English education should be raised to a level which is necessary for it to become a means to earning.

The Maharaja wrote the following in the visitors' book:

I was glad to visit the Madrassa on the 30th of May 1903. The attendance was very large. I was not able to see much here, but from the little that I saw it struck me that the school is managed on a very elementary scale for want of funds. This must of course seriously affect the staff as well. Without good pay you cannot get good and efficient teachers. I may remind my Muslim friends of many of the sentiments that I expressed to them in my speech. The Hindus and Muslims must go on progressing side by side as two brothers, for the interests of the two are closely interwoven, and the rise and fall of one must affect to some extent the other as well. Judging from the manners and intelligence of some of the Muslims I have casually come across here, I am inclined to think that with good education they will be able to hold their own with their brethren in the plains.

I know, as I have said somewhere else, that there are few authors who have spoken favourably of the Kashmiris; though Sir Walter Lawrence* has found excuses for their shortcomings. The Kashmiris must do their utmost to rid themselves of their defects and weaknesses. Without character they cannot expect to rise, and education without character is worthless. I hope the present and future students of this and similar institutions will prove by their careers that men improve in favourable circumstances, the seed of goodness being common to all mankind though it is checked or encouraged by outward forces. Once the forces are favourable, let us hope that the Kashmiri will show himself to be a bold, courageous and straightforward man.

XXVIII

The visit of His Highness to the Islamia College, Lahore, on Saturday the 26th of September 1903, was very much appreciated as a sign of his goodwill towards Muslims. Besides the staff and the students of the college, there were present the leading members of the Anjuman and others. In reply to the expression of appreciation of his goodwill towards them and his sympathy with their efforts, the Maharaja replied:

MR PRINCIPAL AND GENTLEMEN,—It is a singular pleasure to be able to pay a visit to this institution.

When Mr Mahbub Alam asked me yesterday to visit this college, if I had time and inclination, I agreed to do so, as it was an invitation which I thought it would be a mistake to decline, as it would give me an opportunity of seeing the progress that our brethren, Muslims, are making in the Panjab. The progress of the whole country must depend on

* Sir Walter Lawrence, Settlement Commissioner, Kashmir, 1889–1895; Private Secretary to Lord Curzon as Viceroy; author of *The Valley of Kashmir*.

the advancement of all sections of the community, and therefore the advancement of any one section must interest all. Division must lead to ruin, and union to strength. It is incumbent on us, leaders and persons of influence in society, to promote unity and not division. Hindus and Muslims must work hand in hand. Just now I was conversing with Mr Mahbub Alam on this subject, and he pointed out several things in which there existed differences of principle and action between Hindus and Muslims.

Not being acquainted with details of local circumstances, I am not in a position to suggest remedies to minimise points of difference and promote unanimity, but I am sure, men of experience and men versed in local affairs must know means to bridge over the difficulties. Even where Muslims may be in a minority, some reasonable compromise must be found such that the interests of the minority may not suffer. This may not be the popular view but it is surely, I think, the right view. If one propounds an opinion divergent from that held by the majority, one will meet with opposition; but if one continues to advocate the right view, it will be accepted in the long run. For instance, Galileo proved certain laws concerning the earth. People in his time were decidedly against him, but after his death his services came to be recognised. However, in practical politics, we have to give some consideration even to popular prejudices. Granting that we differ as to certain lines of action, it is still incumbent upon us to consider whether it is not in our ultimate interest to try to secure the advancement not of one community only, but of the whole of India. Division has ruined India and must ruin it as long as it exists—I do not mean politically, but socially and materially.

Having made these remarks, I wish to assure you once more of the great pleasure with which I have visited this institution, and if ever I come to Lahore again it will give me great pleasure to pay you another visit to see the progress you have made.

One thing more. It is incumbent on me to reply to the kind words in which the gentleman (Shaikh Abdul Qadir) has alluded to me personally and to my interest in movements for the good of the country. My interests are not limited to one province or one community. I do not consider provinces and communities separately. I regard them as parts of one whole. If the parts improve and become perfect, the whole is bound to be complete. I wish therefore to encourage every good movement and every good institution. In Kashmir I paid several visits to Hindu and Muslim schools, since diversity of religion makes no difference to me when considering the encouragement of useful objects.

I may give you, as perhaps you may be expecting me to do, some idea as to what we are doing in Baroda with regard to classes to some extent left behind in the onward march of education, among whom are Muslims. I say "to some extent" as Muslims in general in Baroda are perhaps more advanced than those in similar social positions in the Panjab, and even more than some of their Hindu fellow-subjects. We have schools there where Urdu and Persian are taught, though many Muslims, knowing that Gujarati is the prevalent language, learn it and know it well. Moreover, there are religious institutions where charity and kindness are shown to Muslims. In my service there are many professing Islam who have distinguished themselves as civil servants. There have also been Muslims who have fought

battles and shed their blood for the House of Baroda. We have paid them not in empty words, but by granting them positions of dignity and trust and giving them emoluments. It is not only in 1903 that the principle of unity between Hindus and Muslims has been recognised. It has existed for a long time. Look at Muslim States and those who have risen to eminence in them, as for instance Hyderabad at the present day and the kingdoms of Bijapur and Golkonda in olden times. Such being the case, there is ample reason for us to be united. Upon due consideration I am convinced that our interest lies in acting in unison.

You are a part and parcel—an inseparable part and parcel—of this vast country. In religion we may differ, but within the world, advancing in its knowledge of scientific truths and progressing materially, it is strange that we should depend only on religion for agreement or difference, when so many other points of contact are offered. Because we differ in religion, it does not follow that we must oppose one another from birth to death. We are destined to one and the same goal. As human beings gifted with the faculty of reasoning, we should be able to rise above petty prejudices. We are children of the same God and should live as brethren.

In conclusion I thank you heartily for the reception you have given me, and I assure you that your interests will always have a place in my heart.

XXIX

On the same day as the preceding, the Maharaja also visited the Dayanand Arya Vedic College, Lahore, an institution inspired by the teachings of the founder of the Arya Samaj, Swami Dayanand.

On rising to reply to the Address which was read to him, His Highness received a tremendous ovation, and it was some minutes before silence was restored and he could begin his Speech.

GENTLEMEN,—It is with feelings of gratitude and satisfaction that I receive your Address, which is a spontaneous gift in no way solicited by me. When I left Baroda I had no notion that an Address was to be presented to me in your historic city. It was with a feeling of surprise that I learnt from my friend, Babu Charoo Chandra Mittra, of your intention so to honour me. Had I known that I should be the cause of your putting yourselves to so much trouble on my account at such a short notice, I should probably have taken a different route. But what has been done cannot now be undone. I thank you for your great kindness. I am exceedingly obliged to the experienced and talented President, who has opened the proceedings with so gracious a speech. The Address that has been read out by Rai Ram Charan Das Bahadur contains many eloquent sentiments and it is certainly flattering to my feelings. As a matter of fact, several opinions expressed in it correspond with some which have occurred in some of my own Addresses, and I agree entirely with what has been said about the subjects dealt with in it.

I would like here to place particular emphasis on the absolute necessity of Indians leaving behind all provincial, sectional and local prejudices and being actuated by a truly national spirit. So far as I am concerned, no sectarian religious sentiments, no mere party feelings have ever swayed my action in any public matter. If your prosperity is to grow and not to be arrested, all narrow prejudices must be given up. In doing as I do in this, I do nothing but follow in the footsteps of many noble men in this country. The

Address refers to my wide sympathies and interest in the welfare of the whole country. Nobody should consider himself as having done his duty unless he has at heart the common good of all his countrymen. I firmly believe that the progress of one part of the country must affect that of every other. It is because you have shown your interest in several acts of my administration, and not because I am looking for appreciation, that I would like to refer to some of them.

Firstly, there are my educational measures. All prosperity is based on the spread of education. People sorely need it. Sound education is our salvation. Education must be spread not merely among princes and wealthy people but among the peasants and the poor. With this conviction I have done what I can to spread the benefits of education among my own subjects. I have introduced a law making education compulsory and I have made it free among the masses. I began with the most backward districts where people might be supposed not to understand the advantages of education. The experiment might have failed. But it has not failed; on the contrary the most sanguine expectations are being realised, and that notwithstanding the fact that a severe famine has broken out in the State. We have also to count with the *purdah* system. In spite of these and other disadvantages, the experiment has been an almost unqualified success. To what is this due? In the first place it is due to the innate love of education among Indians. Next it is due to the tact, ingenuity, sagacity and sympathetic attitude of my officials, who are mostly Indians. Nothing but education is the keystone to the success of my administration. As far as possible I have given my subjects of all classes this elixir of life. I think that my brother princes—and if I may

say so without encroaching on politics, the British Government as well—would do well to make the same experiment.

The Early Marriage Act which I have passed recently, to which reference has been made in your Address, is a very modest piece of legislation. All said and done, all progress must ultimately be based on physical health. The promotion and preservation of physical health is the first necessity of existence. But this is impossible so long as children are married to children. A girl of twelve is in Western countries called a child of twelve. I recognise that the limit of twelve is an extremely low limit, and my own ideal is sixteen. But rulers cannot afford to be too enthusiastic. They should carry with them as much of public opinion as possible. With a view to this I had fixed the minimum limit for marriage of girls at fourteen in the Bill; but in passing the Bill into Law, I have been obliged to go still lower down to twelve years, by the adoption of which all opposition was practically disarmed. I hope that in time to come the people of Allahabad and Baroda, and our Indian social reformers generally, will work to increase that limit, otherwise they will never be able to say they have carried the reform right through. Notwithstanding the low limit of age, I trust that some real good will be done by this measure of legislation. Its success will need to be judged with regard to the civilisation of the people and the circumstances in which they are placed.

Your Address also makes reference to a previous declaration I have made that it is the duty of rulers to give full scope for the development of the capabilities of the people. I say it is the duty of all governments to pursue such a policy. In my own dominions, within their limited sphere, I have

done as much as possible by the establishment of Municipalities and District Boards, giving them such powers as could be given without detriment to the efficiency of the administration. I have left non-officials to do much public and civil work without any interference or molestation at the hands of officials. The people have a right to demand full facilities to develop their capacities. To deny them those facilities is a sort of robbery and offence against nature. With a view to giving full scope for the growth of a nation, taxation must be lightened, education extended, capital organised and industries developed. Those are the duties of rulers, and I try to promote these objects in my own State. The great thing to be remembered is, that though born of the people and moving amongst them, rulers after all, owing to their position and environment, know very little of the hardships of the people ruled, and it is therefore their duty to give them the right of Local Government to the fullest degree. Some of my schemes may seem chimerical, my methods mistaken, the realisation of my expectations dilatory, but still in time my people will recognise that I am actuated in all my actions by no other consideration than the promotion of their prosperity and happiness.

In passing around the institution the Maharaja was well impressed by the genuine interest which the staff obviously took in their work. He observed incidentally that if the teachers did their duty with enthusiasm success was sure, otherwise no amount of energy and industry on the part of those at the helm could be of avail. From what he had seen of the latter he believed they were all gentlemen of devotion and discrimination. After a few impressive words of advice to the students, His Highness left to the sound of their cheers.

XXX

Members of the Arya Samaj at Lahore presented an Address to His Highness on the 18th of October 1903, and to this he gave the following reply:

GENTLEMEN,—It is not without trepidation that I stand here to say a few words in reply to your Address, in which you have extolled me to the seventh heaven. You have compared me in the first place to princes of Europe: let me see if you are right. I shall not here refer to geographical differences of our respective countries. Let us consider some aspects of Nature. The rivers of Europe are narrow, full of water and navigable; the rivers of this country are broad and are not navigable. If you look to the religious condition of India, you will find that here there are many religions such as Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam and Christianity, each struggling for supremacy. Here in religion we have multiplicity: in Europe there is uniformity. Christianity is the religion almost universally professed by the inhabitants of that vast continent: unless Roman Catholicism and Protestantism be regarded as virtually separate religions. Let us look now at some political aspects. In Europe people have a voice in the Government of their own country, while in no country in Asia, excepting perhaps Japan, have the people any hand in the administration. Turn now to military organisation. In Europe, the art of scientific warfare is known to perfection, while here in India people are unacquainted even with the rudiments of modern military science. Is it right then, that without hesitation I should accept the praise which you have so kindly bestowed upon me. Let me hope it is intended as a compliment not by way of flattery but because you want

to place before me an ideal which should be followed by the princes and chiefs of India.

Again, you have contrasted me with the princes of India. I do not know how far you are right and why it is that other princes lack the qualities and distinguishing marks which you attribute to me. It is not for me to discuss the pros and cons of the subiect. We wish you to study not only our good points but also our defects. We wish you to criticise us with a view to correct us. Princes and people are different parts of the same whole, and therefore inseparable. If the people prosper, princes prosper. Do not be led away by rumours. Study the facts and ascertain the truth for yourselves. Form your own conclusions.

This Address has been given to me not by a municipality or an assembly representing all classes of people, but by a particular community struggling to disabuse Hindus of misconceptions relating to religious matters and to bring about reforms in the prevailing religion of the country. That it is a subject of profound importance, no one can deny: it cannot, therefore, be treated lightly. The thoughts I here express concerning it are not the result of deep research and long study. I speak on the spur of the moment. There are some matters connected with religion which require careful consideration, whether religions are revealed or whether they are the result of development.

Religion is akin to philosophy, which began with wonder. Gradually the intellect of man began to develop, and eventually general systems have been evolved. So Materialism has been succeeded by Idealism, Scepticism by Mysticism, Pantheism and Eclecticism. One form of philosophy has been most prominent in certain times and places, and others at other times and places. Religion, too, has corresponding

stages of development. Questions concerning the character of the human soul and the nature of God have persistently occupied the human mind. "Wonder struck" people in early times worshipped stones, wooden fetishes and images. Gradually their intellect developed and they began to apprehend the existence of an Eternal Power. The worship of the *Nirguṇa* and *Nirākāra* is inculcated by all religions. The conception of the true God has been the ultimate result of the evolution of the religious sentiment. That idea is inculcated not only by the highest philosophy of Hinduism but also by Islam and Christianity.

Religions may differ in minor points, but their ultimate essence and basis are the same. The cardinal principles in all religions are similar: religions differ chiefly in their details. We are all children of the same Almighty Father and inhabitants of the same globe. I am grieved to learn that there is much jealousy and antagonism between the followers of different religions in this town. I think that it is the sign of narrowness of mind to be divided on religious matters. The virtues that Hinduism teaches are also taught by other religions. Gentlemen, it is for you seriously to ask yourselves whether we should remain divided on account of religion or not; how far we should be sectarian and how far we should be catholic in our views. Surely we ought to be catholic rather than sectarian.

If, however, you cannot do without something specific and formal and differ from me in this matter, you are not far wrong in following the lead of the Arya Samaj. Purity of worship is the ideal aimed at by the Arya Samaj. In Christendom there was a great reformation in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but it could not do away entirely with image-worship. Catholics have statues, figures, and

representations, or if you like to say so, idols of Mary and of Christ. I am not well versed concerning Christianity; but as regards Hinduism, I can say that the intellectual portion of the Hindu community maintains that idols are not gods but representations of deity. If this view be taken, image-worship is not so bad. If, however, a man takes an image to be God, he is groping in the dark, and then image worship is certainly demoralising. When, however, a man has reached the second stage, he finds that God is incorporeal and can be perceived only with the internal eye. He has a higher, truer, nobler, and grander conception of the Divine Being.

The next point which my friend has touched upon is caste. No institution has wrought so much mischief and done such incalculable harm to our country as this unfortunate, irrational system of caste. There should be no such rights attaching to mere birth as are associated with it by the caste system. Equality of opportunities must be enjoyed by all classes of people. Social status should not be determined simply by the inseparable accident of birth. Lower and poorer classes—lower and poorer not in the religious and the moral scale, but in that of material well-being—should not be debarred from their rights as human beings. It is shameful and disgraceful that the lower castes have fallen largely on account of the selfishness of our ancestors.

I often hear that Indians complain that in South Africa the Colonial Government by special legislation has compelled our countrymen to live in particular quarters of cities and that they are not allowed to go to places where white men live, and that in general our people are not allowed the same advantages as the white men. I do not

want to trench on the field of politics, but I cannot help remarking that it is perfectly natural for us to resent this unjust treatment. Yet exercise a little self-examination. If you feel that your countrymen in South Africa have certain genuine grievances, you must also feel that you are utterly devoid of sympathy and benevolence in treating the so-called lower classes with so much contempt. If I were possessed of power and capacity, I would take the first opportunity of revolting against such atrocious thraldom of the so-called higher classes. If such is your condition, I wonder why you pretend to be the descendants of ancient Aryas. Treat the lower classes with justice, and then, and then only, you will deserve to be called true Aryas. Show by your example in raising your countrymen of the so-called lower classes, that you are true descendants of Aryas.

I now want to speak a few words on social reform. Social reform is beset with difficulties, but difficulties not so great as they are supposed to be. They can be overcome. Our own selfishness and ignorance are hindrances to progress; and on the other hand many difficulties gradually disappear if we persist in our efforts against them. There is one point on which I differ from some social reformers. *Nautch* parties should be healthy institutions for recreation and amusement. Doing away with *Nautch* parties altogether is not advisable. Go to any theatre in Europe and you will find ladies taking an honourable part in theatrical performances. This institution has been handed down from generations past and should not be condemned. With the advance of English education in India we must rise above narrow views. Our people have come in contact with the modern civilised world and should resist mean and wretched temptations. However, if it leads to immorality and

demoralisation, you must do away with the institution of *Nautch*. But why is it that people like the *Nautch*? Because mankind cannot do without feminine society. The most effective way of checking immorality is to introduce music in our homes. There are defects in our society. Some of our Rajas have more than one wife; some three or even more, besides a number of concubines. Give freedom to women: let them feel that they are your equals: let them feel that the difference is only one of a division of labour. If our women and children are imbued with this spirit, it will be easier to fight with superstition. Defective social institutions together with ignorance are at the root of the wrong treatment of women.

We Indians are bold in starting institutions and giving them attractive names, but we lack earnestness and determination; we have no backbone. We start societies and we lecture and lecture, but truth of conviction lies in carrying out our proposals and not in talk. Follow the voice of your own conscience. In India there is much talk and little action. How many are there who act according to their convictions? Do not care for show, do not care for numbers, do not care for the co-operation of princes. If you wish to inculcate religion, act upon the adage: "Example is better than precept". I would ask you to act up to your convictions and speak little. Act earnestly and vigorously. Do not wait for numbers, which if the cause is good will come eventually of themselves. Work not simply to produce an impression on the multitude but because you have to obey your conscience. Difficulty is the test of conviction: do not be daunted by it. Persist and persevere and you are sure to succeed.

The next subject upon which you have touched is educa-

tion, a subject upon which almost everybody talks. All that I can say on it here is to request you to consider what is being done in my own State. If education is spreading there, you must believe that I act in accordance with my often-expressed convictions. Otherwise I deserve to be placed in the class of those who say much and do little and merit but little honour. The next point dealt with in the Address is the admission of the lower classes into Hindu society. Hindu society is deteriorating numerically, the reason being that large numbers of low-class people are becoming Muslims and Christians. It is for you, Gentlemen, to arrest this depletion. It is your duty to preserve your religion. I feel keenly that substantial sympathy must be shown to the lower classes. I do not find fault with the Muslims. I do not blame the Christians. If we are not going to admit low-class people to their legitimate rights in Hindu society, I do not see any reason why we should blame Muslims and Christians for doing what we profess our inability to do. The low-class people have my fullest sympathy: the treatment at present meted out to them is inhuman. I hope the efforts of the Arya Samaj in this direction will meet with success. Do not be afraid of obstacles. Obstacles are the best incentives to progress.

In your Address you have also referred to the rendering of succour and help to the poor and the famine stricken. In Murree I visited an orphanage managed by a Christian Society. I confess I was very favourably impressed with the health of the inmates and the tidiness of their appearance. If only our *Brahmacharis*, *Sādhus* and *Swāmis* diverted their charities and energies to better purposes, much could be done in this direction. Public money is now being squandered by these people. As a Hindu prince, I have to

spend large sums of money through these traditional charities, and I am now trying to divert them to better channels. You must work continuously and not put forward the excuse that you do not enjoy the patronage of princes.

True princedom lies not in territorial possessions but in the development of intellect. In many ways you enjoy greater freedom than the princes of India and have in many directions better opportunities for your kind of social work. Do not slacken your efforts. In times past men belonging to the lower strata of society have often brought about reform and revival in religion. Christ was the son of a carpenter; Muhamad was the servant of a private household; Buddha, though son of a prince, found his position a hindrance to the fulfilment of his mission and renounced it. China, Japan, and to a certain extent India, are grateful to him. He brought himself down to the level of a common beggar. Poverty is not necessarily an obstacle but may be a help. Those who possess little have little to lose. Even humble men can do much. Men who have the courage of their convictions never put forward idle excuses. Whatever you preach translate into practice. I thank you heartily for your cordial sympathy and the warm reception you have given me. I also thank your musicians for the entertainment you have afforded me. Music elevates our thoughts.

At the conclusion of this speech, which held the close attention of those present, Brahmachari Nityanand thanked the Maharaja on behalf of the Arya Samaj and expressed a hope that he would ever continue to take a lively interest in the spread of the Vedic religion. He observed that His Highness was known as a prince of unimpeachable and exemplary moral character. He was a strict monogamist and was rigidly sober and temperate in his habits, so much so that he abstained from the use of tobacco and *pan*. In thanking the Swami for his remarks, His Highness said that the

Swami seemed to be full of zeal and energy for religious reform and of love for his country, and on this account he had shown him his sympathy.

XXXI

On the 7th of December 1903 a deputation of the residents of Dwarka* called on His Highness to convey to him an expression of the loyalty and respect entertained for him by his subjects in Dwarka and asking for his sympathetic consideration of requests they made to him for the improvement of their condition.

His Highness in reply thanked them all for the kind expression of their regard towards him, and promised to do all in his power to ameliorate the condition of his subjects. With regard to irrigation the Maharaja reminded them that he had spent over four times the revenue of Okhamandal on the improvement of the great tank during the recent famine, and would try his utmost to extend the scope of irrigation to Okhamandal where rain was scanty and the seasons capricious. Referring to the improvement of the condition of the tillers of the soil, His Highness said that the Waghers were a backward class and he thought the best means to improve their condition was to educate them. For that purpose he intended establishing schools in all villages and offering scholarships by way of encouragement.

XXXII

On the 8th of July 1904 His Highness was pleased to honour with a visit the High School for Girls, the Girl Teachers' Training College, and Practising School attached thereto at Poona. Accompanied by his aide-de-camp, the Maharaja arrived punctually at the hour named, and was received by the lady superintendent and

* A small district to the west of Kathiawar, quite separate from the main parts of the Baroda State, and famous as a place of Hindu pilgrimage.

a few members of the Maharashtra Female Education Society at the entrance to the newly built Primary School. As the Maharaja ascended the steps, four little girls, dressed all alike, sang a song of welcome, gracefully making the obeisance so familiar to His Highness in his own dominions. Conducted through the classes of the Primary School, he listened with appreciative attention to the lessons that were in progress—in one an object lesson, in another a kindergarten game, in another singing. The delighted faces of these little children, who were all dressed in holiday garments to do honour to the Maharaja, testified to their joy at his kindness in coming to see them. In the drill hall of this new building a class of young children performed a pretty and intricate set of movements with bar-bells, the elder girls sang, and three girls—one of whom had recently won two certificates for practical and theoretical music from Trinity College, London—played a tune. All these items aroused the admiration of the Maharaja Saheb. In the Girl Teachers' Training College, His Highness again visited each class in turn, himself questioning the pupils. In the High School he was keenly interested in the classes in Domestic Science, in Chemistry, and in English Poetry, remarking on the excellent English accent of the girls, their pretty writing and graceful drawing. After visiting the senior class of the Gayan Samaj, or Singing Association, attached to the Training College, at the request of the lady superintendent, His Highness consented to say a few words to the teachers and pupils who had assembled in the central hall of the High School.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I should have liked to question some pupils individually, but that has not been possible. I congratulate the lady superintendent on her able management and thorough superintendence, and you, upon the education which you are receiving. Let me exhort you to make a special effort to prove to the world the necessity and benefits of girls' and women's education. You should earnestly endeavour to improve the condition of those around you. When you leave school, you will occupy

various spheres of life; make it then your duty to impart to others the blessings which you have here received, and by your pure and holy lives convince those who are opposed to the education of women that their prejudices are without foundation. I wish you every happiness in your life and work, and with these words I leave you.

Amidst recurring applause, His Highness resumed his seat, and on behalf of the Maharashtra Female Education Society, Dr R. G. Bhandarkar,* then its President, thanked him for his kind visit and gracious sympathy, which, pleasing and gratifying, were not to be wondered at from the most enlightened and cultured Maharaja of the Presidency. After being garlanded by Rao Bahadur S. V. Patwardhan, His Highness bidding all good-bye drove away, carrying with him the gratitude and hearty good wishes of all who had had the honour of meeting him.

XXXIII

On the 30th of September 1904 His Highness, accompanied by his family and his personal staff, paid a visit to Allahabad. Arriving by special train at 4 a.m. he slept in his carriage till daybreak, when he alighted and drove to Darbhanga Castle where he was to be guest. At his special desire he was not formally welcomed at the railway station. He received visitors in the afternoon, leaving his residence at 4.40 p.m. for the Mayo Hall where he was to be given a public Address. The Hall presented an unprecedented spectacle. Long before the appointed time for the commencement of the proceedings, at 5 p.m., the Hall with its galleries was literally packed. Age, learning, every race, creed and colour, and all professions, were represented at the meeting. Old men tottering with the weight of years, and busy professional men who had never before attended a meeting, were there to testify by their presence to the universal love and admiration his countrymen all over India feel for His

* Sir Ramakrishna G. Bhandarkar, for long the *doyen* of Sanskrit scholars in Western India, in whose honour the Oriental Institute has been founded at Poona, was also a leader of reform in religion and social life.

Highness, as much on account of his enlightened and thoughtful patriotism as of his most beneficial and progressive measures of administration in his own extensive dominions. A quarter of an hour before the appointed time, the venerable Pandit Bishamber Nath, the Grand Old Man of the United Provinces, entered the Hall and was received with an ovation showing his deep hold on the minds of his fellow-citizens. At the entrance to the Hall the Maharaja was received by the members of the Reception Committee appointed at a public meeting on the Wednesday previously. He was accompanied by Babu Charu Chandra Mittra. Conducted to the platform the Maharaja was received with a perfect storm of applause. In a short and very graceful speech Pandit Bishamber Nath, who presided, accorded to His Highness a cordial welcome on behalf of the citizens of Allahabad and of himself personally. He said that it was with no ordinary feelings that he rose to perform that pleasant function. Though he was not versed in the lore of the stars, he could not help thinking that there must have been a happy conjunction of the nine stars in the heavens that, to the good fortune of Allahabad, had brought His Highness there. He then called upon Rai Ram Charan Das Bahadur to read the Address of welcome.

TO HIS HIGHNESS MAHARAJA SIR SAYAJI RAO GAEKWAR, G.C.S.I., MAHARAJA OF BARODA.

"*May it please Your Highness,*

"We, the citizens of Allahabad, beg to offer Your Highness a most cordial welcome to our city. It is a real pleasure to us to do so, because we know that Your Highness' sympathies and solicitude are not confined to your own subjects, but extend to the inhabitants of the whole country of which your dominions are but a part. We consider your subjects most fortunate in having a ruler who not only gives them security of life and property, but is anxious and active to promote their happiness. The Hindu ideal of the ruler, like many other ideals, is very high. Our sages expected rulers of men to secure that none of their subjects should suffer from hunger, disease, or want of clothing or shelter. Apastamba in his *Dharmasūtra* lays down that 'in the realm (of a king) none should suffer

hunger, sickness, cold, or heat, be it through want or intentionally.' Some may regard this as an impossible ideal, but ancient writings tell us that it was realised in the past in India, and we know that it has been realised in these times in a great measure in some countries in the West. And we trust that when the measure of compulsory education—which lies at the root of all progress—which Your Highness has inaugurated in your territories comes to fruition, and teaches self-help and resourcefulness to your people, the ideal will no longer be regarded as impossible of attainment. Knowledge has always been looked upon in India as the highest possession and its conferment as a gift of the greatest value. Poverty, disease and crime were, and are, known to be the offspring of ignorance. School population and prison population, as is well known, have been found to bear an inverse ratio to each other. The happiness of the subject being the sole end of good government, Your Highness has, by providing for the education of all children in your dominions, laid the surest foundations for the attainment of that end.

"Ever anxious to discover and remedy all causes of weakness and misery among your subjects, Your Highness has put your finger on one of the most fruitful sources of physical and intellectual degeneracy, viz. early marriage, which must be acknowledged by all really learned and unbiased Hindus to be opposed to the spirit of the ancient teachings and institutions of their country. The measures introduced by Your Highness are calculated to revive something like *brahmacarya*, which was the corner-stone of the social structure of ancient India.

"Your Highness has given public expression to your conviction that it is the duty of the ruler to give every subject full facilities for developing and utilising all his capabilities. We are glad to know that the sentiments receive practical recognition in the administration of your dominions.

"It is not your subjects alone who are benefiting by your enlightened views and beneficent activities, but men of education and character, who are struggling in different parts of India to improve the lot of their countrymen, have always found Your Highness willing and ready to lend your countenance and support

to all well-directed movements for the revival of arts and industries.

"Your Highness' culture and broad sympathies and your genuine love for our country have endeared your name to us all. We devoutly wish and pray that you may long be spared in the enjoyment of health and happiness to work for the good of the country whose interests you have so much at heart."

The Address, printed in gold on parchment, was then presented to the Maharaja who graciously accepted it. In conclusion he thanked the citizens of Allahabad for their cordial welcome to him.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—The eloquent speech in which your well-known leader has addressed me, contained noble, kind and elevating sentiments. Seeds of goodness are embedded in the souls of all men. Rich in purse or poor by birth, all are sons of God, all are therefore rich. Energy, vigour, perseverance in good causes, these are necessary for all, though born in a high or in a humble sphere. I thank you most heartily for your cordial and kind expressions about myself.

XXXIV

During his stay at Allahabad His Highness attended a lecture by Dr Thibaut on the 1st of October 1904, and visited the MacDonnell Hindu Boarding House for Students. On rising to address the meeting, His Highness met with a repetition of the enthusiastic reception which he had received the day before.

After complimenting the lecturer of the evening for his learned discourse, His Highness said that a search for happiness would be most appropriate after listening to a lecture on Philosophy. He understood that according to some teachers the object of the study of Philosophy was search for happiness in another region. The few who could afford the means and the leisure to study Philosophy should certainly do so, but he thought that all were interested in

advancing the material prosperity of the nation. The present circumstances of the country demanded that the greatest attention should be paid to scientific education and research and industrial development.

In Western countries there were few colleges without residential quarters for students. In India in ancient times it was the custom for students to live with their teachers for many years; and His Highness thought that the same practice might with advantage be revived with changes suited to the altered circumstances of the country. After making a few complimentary remarks in connection with the MacDonnell Hindu Boarding House, His Highness exhorted the students not to confine their sympathies within the pale of Hinduism but to extend them to Muslims, Zoroastrians, Christians, all alike. Their sympathies must be cosmopolitan.

They must not waste their time while they were students, as it was then that they laid the foundations of all their future happiness and prosperity. After finishing their scholastic life they would embrace different professions, but they must remember that they were responsible to the whole country for the manner in which they utilised the learning imparted to them. He told them to pay due attention to the material interests of the country, not for the sake of their own selfish egoistic interests, but for the sake of doing their duty to their country. The country had a right to expect of them self-sacrificing labours for the public good, and he begged them not to fail in their duty.

When the applause with which these remarks were received had subsided, the Honourable Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya*

* Madan Mohan Malaviya, an eminent publicist and political leader, and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Benares.

proposed a vote of thanks to His Highness, to Dr Thibaut, and to the Babu Sahib of Jodhpur. Speaking with dignified impressiveness and rousing eloquence, Mr Malaviya conveyed to His Highness the thanks of the citizens of Allahabad for the great honour he had done them in being graciously pleased to honour the city with a visit. His Highness had said that if he had known they would put themselves to so much trouble on his account he would probably have taken a different route. He begged leave to assure him that they all felt proud of the presence of such a one in their midst. Not all cities, and Allahabad never before, had such exceptional honour done to them as the visit of a prince who was not only a prince by birth but a prince by culture, by intellect, by kindliness of heart and by patriotism, a prince among men. While His Highness cared in particular for the people amongst whom his lot was cast, he had genuine sympathy for all his countrymen in general. Words failed him adequately to describe the proud feelings of the people of Allahabad that day. He prayed that Providence might long spare His Highness in good health, and that his noble and inspiring example might be followed by princes and people far outside his own territory. Though rich in natural resources, rich in intellect, and rich in character, India was nevertheless in a fallen and pitiable condition. It was a rare fortune that in such circumstances they could boast of a citizen like His Highness, and a rarer fortune still that he should be a prince. He expressed the hope of all that His Highness might live long in the enjoyment of sound health.

XXXV

On Saturday evening the 19th of November 1904 Indian citizens of Calcutta and its suburbs assembled in the Town Hall to accord a fitting reception to the Maharaja on his visit to their city. In reply to their Address of welcome, His Highness delivered a short Speech, in which, after thanking them for their cordial reception, he referred to some of the conditions and some of the needs of the people of India.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—It is with a feeling of sincere gratitude that I rise to thank you. I would thank you first on

behalf of Her Highness the Maharani. India, as you all know, is fast undergoing a great social change. Its ladies are no longer satisfied with their old mode of living. They wish to enjoy greater liberty and privileges and hold their own. Indians have always respected their women folk, both in the past and in the present. The very word "ardhangi", or "the other half", as applied to the wife expresses the real situation in India. Woman is one half and man the other half, and the two should form a harmonious whole. The Westerner has gone a step further. He uses the term "better-half" with reference to the partner of his life. Whether Indians agree in this view or not, I should expect them to interpret it in their own manner. It is the duty of all to make their women as worthy as they themselves are.

It should not be forgotten that women represent half of mankind. Considering the numerical strength of women, it is incumbent on the men to see that they are educated. I am glad that the name of Her Highness is coupled with my own in the Address, as it has enabled me to express my views on the education of Indian women. I thank you sincerely on behalf of Her Highness, who has always helped me in promoting the welfare of my people.

Having said this on her behalf, I would like to say something about the industries in India. The subject is so complicated that it is impossible for me to say much upon it within the short time at my disposal. If you want to rise in material prosperity, it is indispensable that you should apply yourselves to other industries than agriculture and manual labour. For this purpose it is necessary that you should take into consideration the advantages which accrue and the different factors which are necessary in connection with material progress. To deal with all these separately

would be difficult and, I am afraid, tedious to you. The principles are so well known to you all that it would be superfluous on my part to expatiate upon them. There are men who are more qualified to explain them at length than I am, therefore I shall touch upon only a few salient points in this connection.

In India we possess a land capable of producing every kind of grain that can be found on the surface of the earth. Not only this, it can produce a far larger quantity of grain than it does now. This fact must be impressed upon the agricultural classes as much as possible. We must also educate them to improve their lands, to improve their tools, to utilise their labour properly and to employ their tools to the best advantage. Unless they can make better tools, or learn to use them properly, it will not be possible for the agriculturists to have any other idea of their occupation than they have at present. It is for this reason that agricultural and industrial education must go hand in hand. Education and mental awakening are necessary. Such awakening starting with the highest then affects the lowest. The progress of a nation must be estimated according to the average intelligence attained. If the educated classes neglect their duty to the unlettered agriculturists, they are acting in a suicidal manner.

It might be interesting to mention here the steps so far taken in Baroda. I want to mention them not for self-praise but merely as an illustration. I have introduced free education in as many villages as possible, and in certain cases I have made education compulsory. This plan has proved a success. Judging from the natural intellectual activity of the Hindu race, I am confident that this system of education can be introduced in almost every

part of India. Above all, if there is a will, there must be a way.

I am aware that many in Calcutta are taking a keen interest in the industrial and scientific activity lately started in my State, and this has given me great pleasure. What is wanted are men of scientific education, men who can apply Science to daily life. I am confident that a time will come when we shall not be satisfied with only one Bose*, and that there will rise many Boses who will be able to help the growth of the material wealth of the country. If we have scientific men, I see no reason, judging from past history, why we should lag behind in this respect. Given the opportunity and given the means, we are capable of national success. Judging from past history we have no reason to be discouraged as to the future. But there are several difficulties in the way. We have no leader of our own, and there is much jealousy among those who occupy leading positions. I exhort my hearers to do away with petty jealousies, sink all differences, and act for the common interest, and success is sure to follow.

I have given some attention to the subject of technical education. I have started technical schools in order to teach different industries, carpet-making, weaving, gold-thread work, etc., not in Baroda alone, but in district towns also. There were failures in some cases in the beginning, because the principles were not attended to—the tools were not perfect, and the men were not competent. But we ought not to be discouraged in cases of failure, but try to find out the remedy.

What constitutes the greatness of a nation? It is not

* Referring to Sir Jagidis Chandra Bose, the great Bengali biologist, renowned for his investigations into the psychical life of plants.

physical valour or brute strength, but mental culture and material prosperity. There is hardly anything which man cannot turn to his own use. India is especially fortunate in its resources. It possesses coal, iron, wood, cotton and other raw materials, and they can be turned to the best use of its people.

In India scientific education has been grossly neglected. Let us send men to other countries to be educated there in science and in arts. Let them see the methods of other nations. A great lesson in political economy is how to produce the greatest results with the least labour. In order to achieve that, scientific education is necessary. I have great sympathy with the newly started Association. Trained hands are necessary, and if we have not enough of such men in India, I ask you to send men to other countries in order to get them trained.

I do not approve of the method adopted by the Association—I mean the method of raising small subscriptions. Let the payment of subscriptions be an investment and not a matter of charity. Those who are able can subscribe for the good of the masses, but small subscriptions from the poorer people must be a sort of investment for them. Such a policy would ensure the success of the Association. In short, the Association should be based upon commercial principles. By this I do not mean to throw cold water on the movement, but I am sanguine that if my suggestions are followed and every subscription is regarded as an investment by the subscriber, it will put the Association on a stronger basis.

As a practical result of the industrial activity in Baroda, I have started there a sugar mill and a cotton mill. In olden days the Rajas did not know how to invest their money. There were *sāhūkārs* who used to lend money. Of late much

has been said against them, yet so much may be said in their favour, that the whole money remained in the country. In order to help the people of Baroda I have also started banks there. The sugar mill has failed. The cause which led to the failure of the mill is well known to my hearers, and therefore I shall not trouble you about it. The cotton mill has proved a success, at least to a certain extent. Within a short time you will know how much success I have been able to achieve in this and in similar directions.

All that I have done has been from a sense of duty—duty towards the country and towards my people. However, I am not very proud of my position. There are occasions in the life of an Indian Raja when he feels that it would be far better for him to be a private individual than a prince. Still a prince has a greater opportunity than a private person to do good to his country and his people. It is the duty of a Raja to make the best use of his wealth and position for the betterment of the condition of his people. It has been and is the highest ambition of my life to fulfil this duty silently and quietly.

In conclusion I thank you heartily on my own behalf. I hope that the words that have fallen from my lips will be taken in a friendly way. I know that the people of Bengal are indulgent, kind and partial to me. Again I thank you, Rajas, zemindars and people of Bengal.

XXXVI

Mr Kersaspji* Rustomji Dadachanji, at that time Dewan or Chief Minister of the State, entertained the Maharaja at an evening party on the 10th of December 1904. On this occasion, in response to

* Kersaspji Rustomji Dadachanji, Dewan of Baroda, July 1st 1904–February 28th 1909.

the speeches which had been made in his honour, His Highness said:

MR KERSASPJI AND GENTLEMEN,—When I came here this evening I little thought I should have to make a speech; but the Dewan Saheb has drawn me to it and I have to inflict one on you. As we imitate the Europeans in everything, so perforce we have to do so in this matter of post-prandial compliments. I have to thank you, Dewan Saheb, for all the kind things you have said of me, though I may not deserve them; and I have to thank you all, Gentlemen, for the honour done to me and the great cordiality with which the Toast has been received. I have to thank Mr Kersaspji for the friendly advice he has given me which I mean to follow in the interests of my health.

I have a great interest in the work of administration. There is much to do for the improvement of the conditions in which we find ourselves at present. My interest has been unfailing; but now I feel that considerations of health imperatively demand my taking an occasional rest, and I mean to do so. The success of my plans and the realisation of my hopes will thus depend mainly upon you and the degree of sagacity with which you manage the affairs of the State. The Dewan's work is not a bed of roses, and he has to watch with vigilance the vital interests of the State entrusted to him, and zealously guard its rights and privileges. While seeking to promote the good of the people over whom he is appointed to wield power, he has to consider the welfare both of the whole and of individuals.

The amount of rest which I can take with composure and calm will depend upon the extent of your administrative achievements, and the ability and zeal you display in your work. Mr Kersaspji, I think you are very happy in the

selection of the colleagues that you have to help you in the conduct of the State affairs, and I congratulate you on your good luck in that direction. By your genial disposition and suavity of manners you have succeeded in making many friends, and if they all work with a common zeal and without any petty jealousy, from which I am confident they all are free, you have a splendid opportunity of doing good to the State you are serving.

Though considerations of health may constrain me to pay less continued attention to the details of the administration, you may depend upon my advice and counsel always being at your service when you feel any difficulty in the conduct of affairs. Native States are the best and fittest stage on which young India can demonstrate its fitness to govern intelligently and in consonance with the latest notions of progress and advancement. I wish you, Mr Kersaspji, long enjoyment of the honours of the exalted post to which you are elevated, and I hope that your tenure of office may be productive of good to the State. Gentlemen, I thank you again for all your friendly sentiments.

XXXVII

ASPECTS OF SOCIAL REFORM IN INDIA

The Inaugural Address at the Eighteenth National Social Conference, delivered by His Highness at Bombay, on the 30th of December 1904.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—When I was asked by Mr Chandavarkar* to open this meeting of the Social Conference in Bombay, it was with some diffidence that I accepted. I could not but recollect how many distinguished men have occupied this chair, and with how many earnest, brilliant and informing speeches the function has been associated in the past. They have dealt with all the various subjects of our social problems, and thrown on them the full and clear light of their learning and their thought. What could I add to the things they have said, or how could I feel any self-confidence in filling their place? Still I accepted the invitation only because I was anxious to show my sympathy with the movement which this Conference typifies.

A few general ideas have occurred to me while studying the course and progress of this movement, and I put them before you so that you may compare them with your own rather than for any intrinsic novelty they possess. Social problems are full of difficulties, and every contribution to their discussion, however insignificant, may be of use. And

* Afterwards Sir Narayan Ganesh Chandavarkar, a leading social reformer and educationist of Bombay; a judge of the Bombay High Court; for some time Vice-Chancellor of Bombay University.

difficult as they are, solve them we must, for the choice they set before us is the ultimate one of a nation's destiny.

A glance at the progress of the Social Reform movement from its commencement to the present day is apt at first sight to be rather discouraging. It is now more than seven decades since Rammohan Roy, and the small knot of enlightened men who supported him, agitated successfully against *Sati*—the first landmark in the struggle between the forces of progress and reaction. Since then there has been much clamour of discussion and movement and a great appearance of effort on various lines.

There have been great religious movements, the Brahmo Samaj breaking boldly away from Hinduism and building up a new community with the modern spirit; the Arya Samaj seeking to reform society and religion but clinging to a nationalistic basis; Theosophy and Vedantism trying to set the waters moving from within; not to speak of smaller movements like the Satya Shodhak Samaj started by Mr Phuley, which celebrated marriages without the intervention of Brahmins.

There has been movement within the Orthodox society itself, different castes attempting to rectify one or two particular evils within their own limits; there have been conferences and associations of the separate communities, the Jain Conference, the Muslim Conference, the Kayastha Sabha, Sabhas of various castes and sub-castes.

There has been cautious but liberal social legislation by the Government abolishing whatever was intolerable to modern sentiment, and liberating the path of advance and progress from the great stumbling-block of active persecution and legal disabilities.

Individuals of influence and reputation have come and

gone who have given their intellectual ability or their personal efforts to the cause of progress. And there has been finally this Social Conference of ours established for eighteen years, which meets annually to discuss and report progress, seeking to give some centre and point of meeting to so many disconnected efforts.

What is the upshot of all these efforts of these seventy or eighty years, and how far can we assign any improvement to our own exertions?

To the first question we can answer, that with the slow advance of education there has been some intellectual progress, and the need for social reform is more generally recognised than it used to be. We might point out that the average age of marriage has risen somewhat, though we have not yet succeeded in raising the age beyond that of puberty, as the laws of health and the saner customs of our ancestors dictate. We might observe that caste restrictions against inter-dining and foreign travel are breaking down, and that an enlightened Government has removed the difficulty in the way of widow-remarriage. And it might appear that all this represents on the whole an encouraging measure of progress, and is evidence of a distinct change for the better.

But when we come to examine the causes at work which have produced the results, we shall have to confess that the prospect is not so reassuring, we cannot resist the conclusion that we have talked much and done little. For we shall see that these changes are due mostly to the irresistible pressure of circumstances and very little to intelligent and energetic action on our part.

The average age of marriage has risen because of the necessities imposed by the education of boys, and the change

in the standard of desirability in the bridegroom together with the longer period of education has made marriage more difficult for girls. Caste restrictions are breaking down because the railway, the school, the college and the public services are bringing men together without consideration of caste, and foreign travel is becoming more frequent under the tremendous pressure of economic forces.

It is the force of circumstances which is freeing us from our social trammels, and not our own desire to be free. However, let us not dwell on the discouraging features of our slow progress. Let us rather try to understand what we really mean by Social Reform and, recognising our deficiencies in the past, try to make our future action more spontaneous and intelligent, our progress more dependent on conscious and active endeavour.

Before going further, I should just like to say something of a tendency which has been visible recently, and that is to insist that reform, if it is to be effectual, must run on national lines. One disadvantage of the idea is that so many meanings have been attached to the term National Social Reform. Some, for instance, mean by it cautious reform after the manner of Erasmus, others take up an ideal like that of the Arya Samaj, others again mean by it the revival of the purity of earlier conditions without their defects. And many, it is to be feared, use it as a euphemism for a reactionary policy.

There is, of course, some truth in the position that reform must work along lines natural to the country and our national characteristics. There are some features in our environment which are sufficiently powerful to modify the practical application of any idea, and these account for certain tendencies in national history which persist even

through long centuries of foreign influence. It is also true that servile imitation is no reform and is often worse than the original evil. But the great truth behind the phrase is, that it is the general advance of the nation which is the aim of reform: that only is national reform which subserves national interests.

It matters nothing where the truth comes from. If it serves a national purpose or helps national ends, then it is national whether the form in which we find it is modern or Vedic, European or purely Indian. And we must be eager to find this knowledge and apply it whether it has the sanction of the older ideas or not. We have to look forward to the future of India, we are not going to revive the past. Therefore we must be a little on our guard in this respect. It is not religious sanction which can guide us in our choice. What the past held sacred is often noble but still more often misunderstood, and we who have to deal with the present shall do more by trying to judge of our need from a practical common-sense point of view, and by using our reason to guide us as to the utility of past experience and new knowledge. What we need now is action—common-sense practical measures—and not discussion as to whether this or that reform is justified by older traditions or the sacred writings of our ancestors.

A question which often arises is, why do we need Social Reform? We cannot say that our whole society is evil, for every society has its merits and its defects, and the merits are there even if we see the defects more prominently. It is quite superfluous to exaggerate the evils, for many of them are local, as, for example, *Kulinism* in a small community of Bengal; or restricted to certain castes, as for example *purdah*. It is also sometimes unwise to take European criticism too

seriously, for Europeans do not always see correctly or make allowances for diversity of institutions and customs. Thus, they often speak as if our marriage ceremony implied immediate consummation as theirs does, or imagine that all *purdah* systems are absolute. Another thing to be on our guard against is reform for reform's sake. For instance, the anti-*Nautch* movement would remove in a spirit of unreasoning Puritanism what might be an innocent amusement. We have few amusements and we gain nothing by abolishing them, though, of course, every thinking person would wish to purify those which are unhealthy.

What then are the objects before the Conference? In what direction does reform seem necessary? The principal measures noted are: Female Education; Abolition of Infant Marriage; Widow-Remarriage; Abolition of Polygamy; Removal of Caste Divisions; Intermarriage between subcastes; Inter-dining; Freedom for Travel and Sea-voyages; Raising the position of the Castes called low; Temperance; and the Regulation of Public Charities. If we examine this list, we shall, I think, find that we can classify the greater number of them under two main heads: (1) Difficulties arising from the caste system; (2) Difficulties in connection with the status of women. These are the two great problems —their solution will enable us to deal satisfactorily with the subjects mentioned in our list.

What are the methods by which we can deal with these problems? There appear to be two great methods of reform—legislation and persuasion. Of these the simpler and swifter is legislation; but on the other hand it can only deal with particular evils, and its effects are less permanent and thorough. Moreover, in some respects it appears more suited to our national temperament, which, like that of some con-

tinental peoples in Europe, prefers Government action to popular initiative. On the other hand, though we do nothing ourselves, we are not above criticising Government action. We should be grateful to the British Government for what it has managed to perform in the way of the removal of barbarous customs, despite the delicacy of its position and the caution which has necessarily characterised its policy. We wish that it might have seen its way to do more in this direction.

The Governments of Indian States, though their scope and activity are much restricted in some directions, may yet discharge a great and useful function. They may provide centres of activity and may lead the progressive tendencies of our society. So far as their opportunities permit, they should strive at the very least not to lag behind the British Government in liberalising the social organisation. The Government of an Indian State which liberalises and perfects its administration is powerfully helping towards the reform of society. May I be permitted in passing to pay a tribute to those of our elder princes who have given personal examples which should greatly strengthen the forces of progress; examples on which a younger generation increasingly tends to improve? It would, I think, be an excellent thing if these princes could find an opportunity of coming together occasionally and exchanging views on the social problems in which they have their common interest.

But we must remember that legislation cannot deal with great barriers which have their roots deep in social organisation. These only education can deal with. There must be an intelligent appeal to the whole people, which shall produce a general awakening, a general determination to think and act. If we can produce this, many of the detailed reforms

we are discussing will solve themselves. The movement must be truly general and in earnest. But as this is perhaps an ideal far from realisation, we should not despise smaller efforts at practical reform, if they are all we can deal with at present.

Let us now examine, in more detail, our two great problems, caste and the status of women, endeavouring to understand what they are at present, what are the defects which they impose on society, and what is the real value which they conceal or obscure.

The evils of caste cover the whole range of social life. It hampers the life of the individual with a vast number of petty rules and observances which have no meaning. It cripples him in his relations with his family, in his marriage, in the education of his children and his life generally. It weakens the economic position by attempting to confine him to particular trades, by preventing him from learning the culture of the West, and by giving him an exaggerated view of his knowledge and importance. It cripples his professional life by increasing distrust, treachery and jealousy, hampering a free use of others' abilities; and ruins his social life by increasing exclusiveness, restricting the opportunities of social intercourse and preventing that intellectual development on which the prosperity of any class most depends. In the wider spheres of life, in municipal or local affairs, it destroys all hope of local patriotism, of work for the common good, by thrusting forward the interests of the caste as opposed to those of the community, and by making combined efforts for the common good exceedingly difficult. But its most serious offence is its effect on national life and national unity. It intensifies local dissensions and diverse interests, and obscures great national ideals and interests which

should be those of every caste and people, and renders the country disunited and incapable of overcoming its defects or of availing itself of the advantages which it should gain from contact with the civilisation of the West. It robs us of our humanity by insisting on the degradation of some of our fellow-men who are separated from us by no more than the accident of birth. It prevents the noble and charitable impulses which have done so much for the improvement and mutual benefit of European society. It prevents our making the most of all the various abilities of our diverse communities; it diminishes all our emotional activities and intellectual resources. Again, it is the most conservative element in our society and the steady enemy to all reform. Every reformer who has endeavoured to secure the advance of our society has been driven out of it by the operation of caste. By its rigidity it preserves ignorant superstitions and clings to the past, while it does nothing to make more easy and more possible those inevitable changes which Nature is ever pressing on us.

If we attempt to trace caste down the misty records of our history, we are at once struck with one great fact, and that is, whatever it once was, it was never in earlier times the extraordinary and illogical mixture which it is to-day. Society was united and vigorous, caste was no bar to active and healthy intercourse. The system was a natural and practical organisation of society.

In the Vedic Period we can scarcely trace its existence, if at all. Society was too simple to need this differentiation. National life was energetic and united. From this period onwards we can trace its gradual growth, and unfortunately its degeneration. In the Epic Period it represents a simple and practical organisation of society, meaning the specialisa-

tion of the four great natural divisions of a people. The lines between caste and caste, however, are apparently not rigid, and each caste was carefully adjusted to the others. *Anuloma* and *Pratiloma* marriages (i.e. with girls of lower castes or of higher castes) were not unknown. Then followed the period in which, in spite of a tremendous output of intellectual activity, the first signs of decay appear. Caste became more rigid. There was a struggle between caste and caste. Apparently the Kshatriya, falling from his high ideal, lost power, and the Brahmin degenerated; and though the evil effects of this did not appear at once, the balance of powers in the society was upset. Caste entirely lost elasticity, subdivisions arose, and there came a period in which disorganisation rapidly followed.

That caste had become an evil and no longer a help is shown by the position it occupies in Buddhism, which was a revolt no less against caste than against the over-heavy burden of ceremonies, rites and sacrifices. Gautama, who was a Hindu preaching to Hindus, would not have removed caste from his teaching had it been a healthy form of national life. Though it survived, the weakness and disunion of the nation and the failure of the caste system is shown by the collapse of Indian society before foreign invasion.

There followed a long period of darkness in which caste became an antiquated tradition, an heir-loom to which men clung as connecting them to a past which they felt to be glorious but could not understand. With the Brahmanical reaction it became a vast congeries of meaningless subdivisions, which, increasing generation by generation, intensified by the disturbed and evil days which preceded the period of Muslim conquest, was still further intensified as a national bulwark, the last possession left to the conquered,

until it has reached the paralysing chaos in which our society stands to-day.

Some aspects of caste are so powerfully typified in Maratha history that I may be excused a brief reference to some of the most striking instances here. We may note, as an instance of the obstacles which it throws in the way of reformers, the persecution not only of Sadhus from the humbler castes like Tukaram and Chokhamela, but of liberal Brahmins like Eknath, by the ignorant Bhats and Bhikshuks. The ignorance of priests has always been and is a great stumbling-block in the way of reformers since olden times, when the great Śankaracharya himself was out-casted by them. If this ignorance of the priests could be removed, progress would become a much smoother affair. We may note as an example of the inhuman arrogance of caste the way in which, in the time of the Peshwas, Mahars were forced to sit down when they met a superior in the street, lest their shadow should touch him, or, as tradition says, were forbidden to spit on the road, and had to carry a vessel round their necks for the purpose. This was due to the supremacy of a single caste, and was not typical of the times of Maratha vigour, when Maratha, Brahmin, and Prabhu worked harmoniously for a common cause; when the other castes were forced to suffer the touch of Mahars and Kolis, for these fought shoulder to shoulder with them in their battles; when Hindus drank water from the hands of Muslims and installed Muslim Pirs among their household gods. We see in all this the liberalising effect of political activity and expansion upon society. But we note also how the caste spirit revives when less strenuous times arrive: we see it in the quarrels of Kokanastha and Deshastha; in the fights about the ceremonies and status of Shenvis and Prabhus;

and in the jealousies and dissensions of Marathas, Prabhus and Brahmins that became so rife in our later history.

We come now to the practical question: What are we to do with this social incubus? It is surely obvious that it is an antiquated survival of an institution which has changed much and for the worse. All it meant at its best has long since vanished, and we surely do not propose to retain its degenerate developments. From a common-sense point of view one might almost wonder that it continues to exist at all, so meaningless a husk has it become. To remove it is undoubtedly our ultimate object. If you cannot do that all at once, at least hold it up boldly as the ideal at which we aim. And in the meanwhile, since something is better than nothing, we shall do well to clear away its externals and the useless minute forms which encumber our daily life and prevent the increase of social sympathy; to promote free social intercourse and inter-dining between all castes, and intermarriages at least between sections of the same caste. If we can do this we shall get rid of many invidious distinctions and inconveniences, make unity easier to develop, and facilitate the solving of particular problems.

Do not, however, imagine that to remove partially or wholly the external forms of caste will be a panacea for all our ills. Many of us who decry the form cherish the spirit, pride ourselves on being Brahmins, or fight to enrol ourselves as Kshatriyas in census lists, because this argues Aryan descent. So that, you see, we can turn even an ethnological report, which was certainly not meant for that purpose, into cause of dissension and ill-feeling. This is only the spirit of caste in a new form. To remove the externals of caste will do us no good if it does not help the exorcism of this spirit from our hearts.

It is not necessary for me to dwell upon all those familiar questions which cluster round the question of the status of women. I would merely point out that we most legitimately object to prevailing customs in these matters because they involve a bad economy of social forces. Early marriage, especially now that the checks on early consummation are breaking down, must increase death and disease among the mothers, swell infant mortality and injure the physique of the race. It interferes also with the proper education of women. A too strict *purdah* mutilates social life and makes its current dull and sluggish by excluding the brightening influence of women.

By the denial of education to women we deprive ourselves of half the potential force of the nation, deny to our children the advantage of having cultured mothers, and by stunting the faculties of the mother affect injuriously the heredity of the race. We create, moreover, a gulf of mental division in the home and put a powerful drag on progress by making the women a great conservative force that clings to everything old, however outworn or irrational.

The existence side by side of customs like polygamy and the prohibition of widow-remarriage similarly shows a bad organisation of society. The one keeps up an unduly low standard of morality among men, the other demands an impossibly high standard from women. To enforce this standard we suppress our feelings of humanity and affection, and inflict severities upon widows in order to keep their vitality low and make them less attractive; yet the impossibility remains and the laws of Nature we have ignored avenge themselves; for in spite of our harsh measures we fail to preserve even an ordinary standard of morality in this much ill-treated class. We do well, therefore,

in protesting against these evils and striving for their alteration.

We should, however, realise where the evil lies; it is in the lowering of our ideas about women and the relations of the sexes. We get no detached picture of the status of women in the Vedic Age, but we know enough to assert that it was free and honourable as in all early Aryan societies. We have a fuller idea of the Epic and Rationalistic periods. More secluded than in modern Europe, women were yet allowed a rational freedom, they were taught liberal knowledge and beautiful accomplishments and a few were distinguished in science and philosophy. They were trained to be helpmates as well as devoted wives to their husbands. Their position, therefore, was not materially inferior and, in some respects, as notably in the laws concerning women's property, was superior to that which prevailed in England until 1870; and even the point reached in 1870 was anticipated by the author of the *Mitākesharā* who wished to make men and women equal in respect of rights of property.

In the literature of the Buddhistic period we see the first signs of change. Women are as a class debarred from studying the Vedas, though there seem to have been exceptions, and Buddhism admitted spiritual equality between the sexes. Monastic disparagement of women mingles in Manu and other writers with expressions of respect. The idea of wifely devotion as typified in Sita predominates over the idea of the helpmate, seclusion seems to have become gradually stricter, and widow-remarriage was looked on with disfavour. But women are still educated and, on the whole, respected.

A change came when the disturbed times of ignorance and foreign invasion were disintegrating society. The ideal

of wifely devotion and purity was exaggerated beyond all reason and all customs modified in this spirit. *Sati*, the entire prohibition of widow-remarriage, early marriage and the rest were established in our society and, in some parts of India, the strictest Muslim type of *purdah* was adopted. Ignorance, increasing among men, became absolute among women.

In both these two great problems, then, what is it that we seek? It is nothing new or revolutionary. Our real aims are the true and noble ideals of our forefathers, ideals eternally beautiful, eternally worthy the search of men. Only the form in which these ideals are presented to us is not always the same, and it is the ideals which we seek and not the form.

What for instance is the ideal underlying caste? Might we not say that it is the recognition on the one hand of the individuality of every man, that which distinguishes him from every other, which gives him his own work, his own value in the world; and on the other the combination of these countless individualities into that united and organised life which we call a society, his organised relations to the rest of society. You remember the *Śloka*: "According as each man devotes himself to his own proper work does he attain to consummation."

But I wish to draw your attention to one point; no caste is nobler or more necessary than any other. If the old broad lines of differentiated activity typified by the old caste system do really represent a fact in Nature, leave it to Nature to work out that fact, do not hamper her by clinging to an artificial growth such as that of our modern system.

And certainly no one system is perfect or everlasting, least of all divine. It is not only in India that there have

been castes and that caste systems have arisen and perished. In Peru, in Egypt, even in mediaeval Europe, we can trace the growth of analogous systems and can watch their fall. Like all other organisations of society, caste in any particular form represents a stage in evolution. For a time it is beneficial, for a time it decays, and finally there arises from its ruin an organisation different indeed but better adapted to the needs of the time, a better and more vigorous form for the expressions of the eternal ideals in practical life.

So too with the problems affecting the status of women. That at which we are aiming is the attainment of conditions in which our Indian womanhood can once again produce types as noble and as great as those which glorify our national history. They need not be the same conditions which existed formerly. Times have changed and the world is very different; but our aim, our ideal, is the same and we seek to achieve it.

There, indeed, is the pith of the whole matter. We ignorantly mistake the form for the ideal. Realise the ideal and the form matters nothing. Let India be inspired with a new grasp of these truths which are for ever old and ever new, and these smaller problems of caste and woman's position will solve themselves. Some causes of our present conditions are other than social—some are economic; some again trouble us because we are uncertain what we want and cling helplessly to the old and familiar. If we can but see what India needs, what once she possessed and expressed so beautifully, if we will but seek for her a new expression for her national life, then we may be content with the future and leave the question of the precise form which it will take to the great forces which regulate the destinies of humanity and the outward sweep of evolution.

Before we go further it will be worth while to recall briefly the principles on which the scientific study of society is based, for it is upon these that our deeper understanding of social problems depends. We know that the life of society, like that of an individual organism, is an unending struggle with its environment, which is partly invariable and partly variable. The invariable elements are climate, natural position, physical forces; the variable are of numerous kinds such as economic position, geo-political surroundings and contact with other civilisations. The society must be able to deal with its environment, and the principal weapon it wields for the purpose is the knowledge it possesses. We remember in this connection that the social organism evolves like the individual and, as it develops its organs of knowledge, proceeds through different stages; it first records simple facts, then proceeds to complex and finally classifies and generalises.

As it develops knowledge, it becomes more fit to deal with its environment. For it begins properly to understand cause and effect, and can better handle causes so as to bring about the effects it desires. Lastly we remember that no society is alone but, like the individual, has to strive and compete with other social organisms. In this struggle the fittest will survive, and the fittest means the most efficiently organised, the one which assimilates knowledge most successfully and uses it to readjust all its parts to new environments. The individual has several kinds of relations with his surroundings, social with his fellows such as class and caste and the relations of men and women, economic with his competitors, political with the State. Society accordingly must also have its various aspects, its social, economic and political organisations, none of which it can

afford to neglect in its battle for existence. These relations must be based on principles of justice, mutual interest and truth. And the society must reflect these conditions in each sphere of life, politically by a just balance of powers in the State, economically by a careful balance of all interests, and socially by a careful balance of the rights and privileges of every individual. If this delicate balance be upset, the society must degenerate; its organisation is defective and will produce abnormal developments, such for instance as our modern caste system. Until the balance is restored, that society will be weak, discordant and backward, the prey of any society better organised than itself.

What then are the practical lessons we draw for our own guidance from these well-known principles of the science of society? We learn that it is suicidal to cling to a more primitive state of knowledge and reject new light. The old knowledge related all facts to the single idea of religion, the new classifies life and restricts the sphere of religion to the high spiritual matters with which it is properly concerned. What is to be gained by clinging to the older and less developed system and applying the solemn sanctions of religion to matters of ordinary convenience which do not really affect our spiritual welfare? We only make life cumbrous and hamper our efficiency. Indeed these rules and restrictions, which become too many and irksome for men to observe, help to demoralise us; for either we get accustomed to breaking what we regard as the ordinances of religion, and what therefore it ought to be our aim and interest to observe, or we turn a large number of innocent acts into secret vices; in either way we come to think nothing of leading a double life.

The next thing we learn is the importance of a more

accurate knowledge of the laws of Nature; we must rationalise our knowledge and no longer cling to superstitions. To take some homely instances, the ideas of our people are full of strange theories of cause and effect, and indications of coming events such as that a lizard falling on the body causes misfortune, that the sight of a widow on certain occasions is inauspicious, that the advisability of marriages can best be determined by comparing horoscopes, that various marks on the body can be interpreted in terms of character or future events, that it is bathing in the Ganges or paying money to Brahmins and not one's conduct that purifies the mind and soul. Similar ideas, such as the religious importance of wearing the *Sovale* at meals, regulate our daily life. All this obviously typifies a primitive state of mind which, if encouraged in small things, must dominate us in those which are higher. A society which persists in beliefs of this nature is not likely to understand cause and effect in its own social arrangements. We must get rid of superstition in great things as well as small, and govern our actions by a rational consideration of aims and means.

Our next lesson is that we must accept new knowledge and assimilate it whether it comes from without or within. A society armed with bows and arrows, confronted with others which use the modern rifle, must arm itself with rifles if it is to go on existing; and the same principle applies in all matters. We must not only accept knowledge intellectually, but have the moral courage to alter our actions and customs in accordance. Otherwise our knowledge is of little use; for the true test of knowledge is its practical utility in equipping the society for the actual problems of life. If, then, our customs put us at a disadvantage in the struggle for life, it is useless to persist in them merely be-

cause they are our own or old. And lastly we learn that we must not exaggerate the importance and probable effect of social reform, since it is only one of the aspects of readjustment. We must advance socially, economically and politically if we wish to reorganise our society so as to survive.

Science and Western civilisation have thrown us into entirely new environments. We were a secluded country, economically self-sufficient, socially a people to ourselves, able to develop our own peculiar institutions, politically almost a separate continent. Our internal organisation absorbed everything that entered the country without losing its own peculiar character. All this is no longer possible. We are exposed to the competition of social organisms economically and socially better equipped and in the highest state of unity and organisation, and have no longer the defence of a comparative seclusion. Science has forced down barriers and made us merely one district of the ever-narrowing world. We did not recognise this fact sufficiently when the new forces first began to work upon us. Face to face with disciplined European armies and organised administrations, men of genius like Mahadji Scindia, Hyderali, and Ranjit Singh adopted the military methods of the newcomers, but no indigenous powers realised the necessity of readjustment all along the line; they had, therefore, to succumb in the struggle for existence. Now, at least, we must recognise the necessity. We must strive for a more elastic and efficient economic organisation; we must give up customs which keep us physically weak or unenterprising, and especially those institutions or prejudices which divide man from man, caste from caste, religion from religion. Increased communications and inevitable mutual contact urge us on the road with or without our consent.

Science has given us a mass of new knowledge which we can utilise for the purpose. It only remains for us to decide whether we shall yield slowly to necessity or get the most instead of the least advantage out of the change by a voluntary and wisely chosen adaptation of means to the end in view.

Many seem to doubt whether we can survive in the struggle. They take refuge in European theories of racial inferiority or inexorable physical forces, especially the influence of climate. This is the substitution of a new fatalism based on a misconception of Science for the old which was based on a misconception of *karma*, and should be combated at every turn. If these theories were true, our race would never have played any part in the history of civilisation. Yet the same people under the same climatic influences reached heights in religion, philosophy, science, architecture and literature which no contemporary nation surpassed. They were equally successful in material pursuits, in arts and industries, agriculture, war and administration. They produced not only poets, philosophers, scholars and scientists, but administrators and leaders among the most able in history, and this is true from the ancient days of Chandra Gupta and Asoka, Vikramaditya and the Senas and Guptas, down through the Moguls and their great generals and administrators to the recent times of Shivaji, the leaders of the Maratha Confederacy and Ranjit Singh.

The superiority of Europe is a fact of the present day; but is it really an eternal and unalterable law of Nature? Does history bear out these pseudo-scientific generalisations? On the contrary it is during the last 300 years only, since indeed men like Bacon discovered a sound method of enquiry into the laws of Nature which enabled Western nations to eco-

nomise effort and rationalise life, that Europe has taken the lead over other parts of the world. The superiority is not due to climate or physical causes or to our inbred inferiority, but to a more scientific organisation of political, social and economic life.

There is no reason why we also should not progress if we follow their example. Our natural resources are excellent: fighting classes like the Rajputs, Muslims, Sikhs, Gurkhas and Marathas; intellectual classes with a capacity for administration and public affairs like the Brahmins, Kayasthas and others; born traders like the Banias and Bhatias, Memons and Parsis and Bohras; a peasantry superior to many European peoples in thrift, patience, diligence, kindliness, domestic affection and orderly habits —the common and useful qualities that preserve a race. Yet with all these splendid resources, what sort of existence are we leading?

It is no natural deficiency that is to blame, but bad organisation, antiquated methods and our own *karma*. We ignore the sanctity of natural sympathy and co-operation, and forget that the interest of the whole society is the higher interest of the individual; we base our actions and institutions on favour and privilege instead of equity and justice. Let us revise our ideas and change our methods to suit better knowledge and new circumstances. That is the whole meaning of reform, and if we realise and carry it out in practice, we need not be afraid of natural forces which can always be met and utilised by Science and human endeavour. The determining powers of our destiny are not physical forces nor chance, nor Kismet, nor necessity, those gods mostly of our own making on whom we cast the responsibility for the consequences of our actions. No,

Gentlemen, man is man and master of his fate. Our future depends on the use we ourselves make of the opportunities which knowledge places in our hands.

To take advantage of the new and favourable features in our environment we must take care that education is much more widely spread and practical. It is the general ignorance of the country which renders our social progress so slow. That ignorance must be removed. And I should just like to say one thing about the attitude often displayed towards social reform and social reformers. There have been cases where men who have argued splendidly for social reform fail to carry out their principles in actual life. Their failure does not invalidate the truth of their preaching: a truth remains a truth even though the man who preaches cannot put it into practice. What we need is some practical working organisation for spreading the social ideals and new knowledge which are lacking amongst all classes of the community.

We have already a large body of men who might be doing some of this work for the country, just as the great religious orders of the Middle Ages did so much for Europe. I refer to the countless body of *Sādhus* who are roaming over the country. But they must be trained, and they must have something useful to say. For asceticism is evil unless it be a humane asceticism, one not divorced from philanthropy. He who surrenders life to help his fellows is a saint, but not he who becomes a beggar to avoid labour or responsibility, or retires to a jungle to save what Kingsley would have called "his own dirty soul".

We have, as it is, a fair amount of propaganda. The country, indeed, owes much to this Social Conference which has done a great deal to make discussion of our social

problems general among educated men. Many individuals also by their speeches and writings have placed much of the available knowledge and much new light on the subject in the hands of the enquirer. As a result of their efforts we have already a large literature of Social Reform. I could wish indeed that our caste *sabhas* and conferences would record not only their conclusions but their discussions and differences also; for if the contentions on each side could be put on paper and published, it would have a great educative effect. It would be, too, a valuable document for posterity picturing the ideas of our countrymen in an interesting period of transition.

Still, we need something more insistent, busy and popular. Active and energetic associations organised somewhat on the lines of the Arya Samaj and even of Christian Missions are what we want. Such an organisation should penetrate into every village in the country to bring to the people this new knowledge in an attractive and telling form. Then we may hope that the Social Reform movement will have less obstacles to contend with and will advance more rapidly.

But Social Reform cannot stand alone. The social aspect of a society is closely connected with the economic and the political. The advance of one affects both the others. Therefore we cannot hope for general improvement in social conditions until we have conquered some of our economic difficulties and have realised more fully the opportunities which exist for the development of a sane political life.

Indeed we may look for considerable assistance in Social Reform from the economic development. Industrial progress has already done much to break down the barriers of caste and will do more. If India can become richer she will have more leisure for the consideration of her needs, more

capital for the exploitation of her resources and for the encouragement of the education of her people to make the most use of them. A more active commercial life must bring all classes of people together, and force upon their attention, as nothing else can, the great common interests which unite them.

Again, in the political sphere there is much which we can do. I am not one of those who believe that a foreign Government is necessarily a bar to the political advance of a country. The most that we can hope from any Government is that it will work for the best interests of the people which it governs. So long as it identifies their interests with its own, so long as it works for their encouragement with an efficient administration and true zeal for national progress, that Government is national. But there is one change which I think would mean a very great deal to India. I believe it would bring to light and draw to a point in a very practical way the real and vital political interests which all classes of the community have in common, and do much to strengthen the position of the Government in this country, and to enable all our countless classes, creeds, people and castes to unite in working together for the common good of India. I mean the establishment of a permanent Court in this country with some member of the King-Emperor's family as a permanent Viceroy. When there is such a Viceroy who might devote his life to India and realise more fully that all his interests were bound up with those of the country, there would be, I believe, an outburst of patriotic loyalty such as would seem almost incredible to us. I believe that that would serve more than anything else to draw together all energies and activities into work for the common weal, and I trust that the ideal may not seem impracticable, the dream only a dream.

Meanwhile let us do our best to encourage a spirit of brotherhood and union. We boast of our philosophy which teaches us to see that God "abides in all born beings"; "I am seated in the heart of all". Why then do we forget the practical application of that great truth in the sphere of conduct. Is it in harmony with this golden truth of our religion that we despise and shrink from those who belong to different, or what we choose to call our lower castes? Or that we fill our social and public life with mutual distrust, jealousy and disunion? If we really believed in the One Spirit in all, we would not maltreat His manifestations; we should realise that we despise and hate Him in despising and hating our fellows. Once more I say to you, let us return to our own ideals, understanding them better and trying to carry them out both as individuals and as a nation. Let us try to realise the virtues and merits of those who are different from ourselves. Let us try to find the good in those who differ from us in caste, and not insist on their deficiencies. Let us try to keep before us that ideal of the future of India as the aim to which we are all working; and let us judge our fellow-men by the work which they do to make that future great and united. Let us recognise the selfless and devoted work which many have done for India in the sphere of administration, philanthropy or science, of action or of knowledge, whether they were Christians, Hindus, Muslims or Parsis, and let us try to realise that such work is the true claim to nationality. He who loves the country well enough to give his life for it, he is the true Indian, not he who merely boasts his own superiority because of some fancied advantage which he derives from caste privileges and traditions. There is only one spirit of truth; there is only one truth behind all ideals; and all who are working

in that spirit towards these ideals are doing the noblest of which they are capable, no matter what the caste or race or creed may be. That is the spirit which must animate us if we are going to work for India and hope to have any successful reform in the future.

XXXVIII

A meeting of the East India Association was held in London on the 6th of July 1905, under the Presidency of the Maharaja, at which Sir David Barr,* some time British Resident in Hyderabad, delivered a lecture on Hyderabad. In bringing the proceedings of the meeting to a close, His Highness said:

They had heard a discussion on the paper, and it only remained for him to say a few words thereupon. The subject required delicate handling from him, because the least mistake might be misunderstood. It would take a long time to deal with the matter of the Indian States thoroughly. It was one which was understood by very few people outside the ranks of officials who had served in the Indian States. The English people took a fair amount of interest in Indian questions, but many of them had not the personal knowledge entitling them to pass a judgment which would not be objected to by those who had first-hand acquaintance with Indian problems.

The Indian States, taken as a whole, represented a very large proportion of India, and when they took into consideration both their area and population they saw the importance of the question of their future. In order to decide how far a State was making progress it was necessary

* Sir David Barr, British Resident at Gwalior, 1887–1892; in Kashmir, 1892–1894; Agent to the Governor General for Central India, 1894–1900; Resident at Hyderabad, 1900–1905; Member of the Council of India, 1905–1915.

for them to consider the standard they had set themselves, or how far they had been handicapped by shortcomings, mental or moral, or by defective education, or political restrictions. In the times when Major Kirkpatrick, to whom the lecturer had referred, was at Hyderabad, the Indian States were going through a very critical period. Such times of crisis, following the overthrow of one empire and preceding the establishment of another, were not unknown in other countries besides India. (Hear, Hear.) It was a mistake to take this period of history as affording evidence that the people of India were not capable of managing their own concerns. (Cheers.) He thought that if the British and French Governments had not come on the scene it would have been an interesting problem (which it was now useless to discuss) what would have become of India—whether many of the States would have vanished, whether some of them would have established a supremacy over others, or whether they would have been formed into United States, something like those of America.

Had the Indian people come into communication with the rest of the world, and had they adopted modern Science and the leadership of soldiers and statesmen on modern lines, he had no doubt, that a people with such natural capacity and ability would have asserted themselves in a manner in no way inferior to those of other parts of the world. (Cheers.) That was not a matter the Indian people could pride themselves upon: it was their folly and their mistake that they lost ground. Now they had come under a Government which, though to a limited extent, gave them some scope to exercise the inherent qualities he had mentioned and to obtain such training as would in time qualify them to occupy higher positions than they did at present.

He hoped the time would come when the Indian princes would show themselves more capable, more alive to their duties, more concerned to promote the interest and happiness of their people than had perhaps been the case up to now. (Cheers.) He believed there was no surer way of reaching that ideal than by educating the princes thoroughly. And the need was not confined to the princes' education: a higher moral code must also be extended to the people, must be brought down to the lowest level of the population. If the princes showed themselves reckless and neglected their duties and the care of their States, it was their own people who must come forward and compel them to discharge their duties and to conform to accepted standards.

He saw before him many young Indians of judgment who would, he hoped, assist in the setting of high standards, and to whom it would be a source of pride and pleasure to advance the progress of the people as much as possible. The lecturer had referred to the Nizam as having asserted himself more of late than formerly. He was not going into details of the lives of Indian princes, but he might say that there were occasions when the best-intentioned ruler found his best labours bearing but little fruit, and that his best reforms were not of a very lasting kind. They could not expect any sensible man to emulate the labours of Sisyphus in taking continuous interest in the administration if the results were disappointing. That was what the princes sometimes felt. It was a pity they should do so, for the feeling might seem akin to cowardice. But before passing judgment on them they must consider the circumstances under which they gave way. (Cheers.)

As one who felt that he had personally sacrificed himself in doing his best, he must say he inclined to sympathise

with those to whom he had referred. He hoped, however, the sense of duty would lead them, in spite of sacrifices, to live up to the standard of duty in promoting the happiness of the people. Hyderabad was without doubt the Premier State of India, and they looked to His Highness the Nizam to set up a high standard for other Indian States. They hoped and expected he would continue to carry on the administration to the best advantage of his people, to reform his revenue, to increase the resources of the State, and to encourage profitable investment on the part of his people. He knew that His Highness had been doing this to a great extent, and had been carrying out other reforms.

What he wanted to urge was that those princes who were interested in good administration and who endeavoured to carry out useful reforms should be allowed to reap the benefit of them. Too often those reforms were effected at great sacrifices of dignity and of jurisdiction. There were times when the best-intentioned ruler might find his efforts of little use; but he trusted that fact would not deter the ruling princes from doing everything in their power to benefit their people. (Cheers.)

In conclusion he had to thank Sir David Barr for the manner in which he had drawn up his paper, and especially for his avoidance of controversial topics. Sir David had shown great skill and tact in dealing with Indian princes—and that was a quality of the highest importance for the political officer in India, amongst whom there were great variations in character and temperament. Sir David would not have received the splendid send-off accorded him when he left Hyderabad had not the people of the State learned to trust him. He could only say he hoped the younger generation of political officers would follow in the foot-

steps of men like Sir David Barr, by encouraging the princes in the performance of their duties and freeing them from swaddling clothes as much as possible. He thanked them for listening to his remarks so patiently, seeing that they were spoken on the spur of the moment, and he had not had time to think them out beforehand.

XXXIX

THE NEEDS OF INDIAN INDUSTRIES & THE LINES OF ADVANCE IN EDUCATION

The Inaugural Address at the Second Indian Industrial Conference, delivered by His Highness at Calcutta in December 1906.

MR PRESIDENT, DELEGATES TO THE CONFERENCE, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—It was only last month, on my return from a tour in Europe and America, that your able and energetic Secretary, Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar, called on me, and conveyed to me your committee's unanimous request that I should attend this Conference, and deliver an Inaugural Address. I naturally felt some hesitation in acceding to this request, partly because of the pressure of administrative work owing to my recent return from a foreign tour, and partly because I am aware that there are others who are better qualified than myself to advise you in the noble work which you have undertaken. But, Gentlemen, your Secretary was not to be put off by these reasons. He pressed me to accede to the request of the committee, and was good enough to assure me that by so doing I would be rendering some service to the great cause which we all have at heart. To this argument I felt it my duty to yield. I feel very strongly that to help in the industrial movement of the present day is a duty which devolves on all of us equally.

Whatever be our vocations in life, we cannot be untrue to this duty without being untrue to ourselves and our country. And I feel to-day, as I have always felt and

declared, that our interests are one and the same—whatever helps and elevates you, helps and elevates us; whatever retards your progress, retards ours. Furthermore, I am strongly convinced that our activities in all different departments of life—political, social and industrial—are so correlated that we shall never make any marked progress in one without making similar progress in all. Three seemingly diverse currents of intellectual activity converge towards the same headworks and feed the same main stream of life. Unless we extend our horizon and take a less parochial view, we can ill understand the value and place of each of these component parts in the great machinery of progress.

Gentlemen, I do not propose to take much of your time with an account of the industries of India in ancient times, but a brief reference to some notable facts will perhaps not be unsuitable on an occasion like this. You are all aware that India was famed for her cotton fabrics from very ancient times; and antiquarians tell us that Indian cotton found its way to Assyria and Babylon in the remote past. Indigo, which is peculiarly an Indian produce, has been detected by the microscope in Egyptian mummy cloths, and Indian ivory and other articles were probably imported into ancient Egypt. There can be little doubt that the old Phoenicians carried on a brisk trade with India, and much of the spices and precious stones, ebony, gold and embroidered work, with which they supplied the Western world, came from India.

The Greek civilisation developed at a later date; and Herodotus, generally called the Father of History, speaks of Indian cotton as "wool growing on trees, more beautiful and valuable than that produced from sheep". A brisk trade between India and the Western world was carried on

during the centuries preceding the Christian era; and as Rome rose in power and importance, and Alexandria became a flourishing mart, the trade increased in volume. Silk threads, sapphires, indigo and cotton fabrics were exported from the mouths of the Indus; and the important sea-port town of Broach—then called Bharukaccha by the Hindus, and Barygaza by the Romans—exported gold, silver and other metals, glass, corals, muslins, cotton fabrics, ivory, ebony, pepper and silk. The Roman Empire declined after the third century. An Eastern Empire was founded with its new capital at Constantinople, and that place attracted to itself much of the Asiatic trade which before used to flow through Alexandria.

India was the scene of frequent invasions during the centuries succeeding the beginning of the Christian era, and Scythians and Huns desolated her western province. But a great chief and warrior, known to our literature under the name of Vikramaditya, at last turned back the tide of invasion, and India was virtually free from foreign raids from the sixth to the tenth century. It was within this period that Chinese travellers, Fa Hien, Hiuen Tsiang, and others, visited India as religious pilgrims, admired her arts, industries and manufactures, and wrote on the Hindu temples and Buddhist monasteries, which existed side by side in every large town. Hindu traders founded settlements in Java and other islands; and it was in a Hindu ship, sailing from Tamralipti or Tamlook, that Fa Hien left India. Those of you who have been to Europe, and visited the continental towns, may have seen images of Hindu gods and goddesses in the Museum of Leyden, taken there by the Dutch from Java, where Hindu religion and learning were introduced by traders and settlers from India.

Venice was the channel of trade with India after the close of the dark ages; but the glory of Venice departed with the discovery of a new route to India round the Cape of Good Hope by Vasco da Gama about the close of the fifteenth century, and Portugal rose in power and commercial enterprise as Venice declined. In the sixteenth century, all the southern seaboard of Asia, as far as China, was practically under the commercial control of Portugal. But the Dutch replaced the Portuguese in the seventeenth century, and like the latter enriched themselves by the Indian trade. Likewise the English appeared on the scene a little later, and wrested from the Dutch a large share of the Eastern trade in the eighteenth century. It is remarkable that, within the last thousand years, nation after nation in Europe has risen to power and to great wealth mainly through the Eastern trade. Constantinople, Venice, Portugal, Holland and England have successively been the carriers to Europe of the rich manufactures of India, as the Phoenicians and the Arabs were in the ancient times.

When England obtained territorial possessions in India in the eighteenth century, she was evolving her commercial policy in relation with Ireland and her American colonies. Her aim and endeavour was to obtain raw produce from her dependencies and to develop manufacturing industries in England. She repressed manufactures elsewhere by unequal tariffs in order to develop her own manufactures. The American colonies freed themselves from the industrial servitude when they declared their independence; but both Ireland and India continued to suffer. Industries in both these countries steadily declined early in the nineteenth century; manufacturing industries progressed by leaps and bounds in England; and the invention of the power-loom

completed her industrial triumph. Since then England has slowly adopted a fair and equitable commercial policy, and repealed Navigation Acts and unequal tariffs. To-day England stands forth as a pre-eminent free trader with all the world. This brings me, Gentlemen, to the industrial history of India in our own times.

The triumph of machinery has been the triumph of our age: the victory of steam and electricity will always be memorable among the decisive battles of the world. The rise of the power-looms, for instance, has been stealing a march over the hand-loom workers, and the numbers employed in cotton-weaving in India have declined by 23 per cent. even within the last decade. Even the ginning and the pressing of the cotton has so extensively participated in the use of improved machinery that its hand workers have dwindled by fully 68 per cent. And yet it is this textile industry itself which shows how, with intelligent adaptation to the improved methods of art, our Indian industries can compete with the manufactures of Europe. The Bombay mills give daily employment to about 170,000 factory operatives, while as many as 30,000 more are maintained by the ginning presses. Some forty years ago we had only 13 cotton mills in all India. The number rose to 47 in 1876, to 95 in 1886, to 155 in 1895, and to 203 in 1904: and to-day the number of our cotton mills is still larger. We had less than 4000 power-looms forty years ago: the number was over 47,000 in 1904. We had less than 300,000 spindles forty years ago: the number exceeded 5,000,000 in 1904. These are insignificant figures compared with the huge cotton industry of Lancashire; but they show that we have made steady progress, and that we may fairly hope to make greater progress in the future if we are true to our aims and

our own interests. Our annual produce of yarn is nearly 600,000,000 pounds in weight; and it is interesting to note that out of this total output about 30 per cent. is used mostly by our hand-loom weavers.

Gentlemen, it is with legitimate pride that the Indian patriot marks this silent progress in the mill and hand-loom industries of India which, next to agriculture, are the largest industries in this land. New mills have been started in Ahmedabad and Bombay within the last two years, largely as a result of the present *Swadeshi* movement. In the poor State of Baroda too, this progress is marked. For more than twenty years the State worked a cotton mill in the capital town to give an object lesson to the people and to encourage private companies to start similar mills. The call has now been accepted, and a private company has at last been formed, and has purchased the State mill from our hands with the happiest results. Recently a second mill has been completed and is about to start work, and a third mill is now under construction. More than this, the number of ginning factories and other factories using steam has multiplied all over the State, and the number of hand-looms has doubled in some towns. All the coarser kinds of yarn in the Indian markets are now mostly of local spinning; an insignificant fraction alone being imported from abroad. In the case of yarn of higher counts, however, the local manufacture falls much below the supply of the foreign mills. Muslin and finer fabrics can be imported much more cheaply, and in a more pleasing variety of design and colour than can yet be locally produced. The hand-looms of the East, once so far-famed for the fineness of their fabrics, have now dwindled into small importance. Prints and chintz from France, England and Germany are still extensively imported to

meet, not only the local demand, but also the demand of markets across the Indian frontier in Persia and Afghanistan.

Thus, though there is reason for congratulation in the rise of our textile industries, there is yet greater reason for continued toil and earnest endeavour. We are still at the very threshold of success. Our cotton mills produced less than 600,000,000 yards of cloth last year, against over 2,000,000,000 yards which we imported from other countries. Here is scope for indefinite expansion. We exported cotton of the value of £213,000,000 to foreign countries, and imported in return for this raw material cotton manufactures of the value of £390,000,000. We are thus producing only a fourth of the mill-made cloth which the nation requires. We should not rest till we are able to manufacture practically the total supply needed by our countrymen.

Gentlemen, the remarks I have made about the cotton industry of India apply to some extent to the other industries which require the use of steam. Bengal is known for its jute industry, which I believe is increasing year by year; and the number of jute mills has increased from 28 in 1895 to 38 in 1904. Northern India and the Panjab have some six woollen factories, whose produce has increased from 2,250,000 pounds in weight in 1896 to 3,500,000 pounds in 1901, and I have every hope that our countrymen, who have been so successful in the cotton industry, will broaden the sphere of their operations, and take to jute and woollen industries also.

The silk industry is one of the most ancient industries of India, but declined like other ancient industries under the repressive commercial policy of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Some faint signs of improvement are,

however, visible now. Tassar silk is manufactured in many parts of India, and quantities of it are exported to Europe. In Assam, silk still continues to be the national dress of women, and each family weaves silk *saris* for its own use. In Bengal some improvements have been recently effected by the adoption of scientific methods of testing the seed. In the Panjab the attempt to reintroduce the cultivation of silkworms has not been attended with marked success. In Kashmir the industry is indigenous, and the State is endeavouring to develop it. Much attention is paid to this industry in the advanced and enlightened State of Mysore. And in the State of Baroda I have been endeavouring to spread and develop the industry. The number of filatories in India in 1904 was only 75, and the number of silk mills was only 11; but much silk is also produced as a cottage industry.

So far I have confined myself to the textile industries; and I have scarcely time to refer at any length to the other industries of India. Brass and copper have been used for vessels in India from ancient times, but have been threatened lately by the cheap enamelled iron ware of Europe. Aluminium is a new industry, and we are indebted to Mr Chatterton of Madras for greatly developing it in India.

Recent geological surveys and investigations have brought to light the rich area of iron which has been lying concealed for so long in Central India; and there is great scope for the development of iron industry. Veins of iron ore are believed to exist in several places besides those where they have already been explored; and if only a few more enterprising companies, like my friend Mr Tata's, spring up and prospect these mines, they have a hopeful future before them. If the quality of the indigenous coal is improved and the means of communication made more easy and cheap,

so as considerably to reduce the cost of transport, we may be saved importing large quantities from abroad. I am glad to find that the able geologist who discovered suitable iron ore for Mr Tata's scheme, Mr P. N. Bose, has been selected by you as Chairman of the reception committee of this Conference. The scheme is still under the consideration of Mr Tata's son, whom I had the pleasure of meeting recently in England. There were 89 iron foundries in India in 1904, and it is to be hoped that the number will rapidly increase in the near future.

Bengal is rich in coalfields, and out of the 8,000,000 tons of coal, worth about two crores of rupees, raised in all India in 1904, no less than 7,000,000 tons were raised in Bengal. These will seem to you to be large figures, but what are 8,000,000 tons compared with considerably over 200,000,000 tons annually raised in England? Our countrymen are engaged to some extent in coal-mining, though greatly hampered in the endeavour by want of technical knowledge. I am glad the Indian Government have granted scholarships to some young Indians to learn practical coal-mining in England. The importance of coal consists in this, that its abundance makes every other industry on a large scale possible. Coal and iron have been the making of modern England, more than any other causes.

These are the principal industries of India carried on mainly by steam, and for facility of reference I give the figures as to them and a few other industries in a tabular form:

	1895	1904
Cotton mills	148	203
Jute mills	28	38
Woollen mills	5	6
Cotton ginning, cleaning and press mills	610	951

	1895	1904
Flour mills	72	42
Rice mills	87	127
Sugar mills	247	28
Silk filatories	89	75
Silk mills	28	11
Tanneries	60	35
Oil mills	163	112
Lac factories	133	128
Iron and brass foundries	64	89
Indigo factories	8225	422

These figures will show at a glance our present situation in relation to the principal industries carried on by steam in India. In some, like the cotton industries, we are only at the very threshold of success and produce only about a fourth of what we ought to produce. In others, like the wool and jute industries, we are indebted almost entirely to European capital and enterprise. We ourselves have scarcely made a beginning as yet. In a third class of industries, like sugar and tanneries, we have actually lost ground within the last ten years. While in a fourth class of industries like iron we are still almost wholly dependent on Europe, the produce of our own foundries scarcely supplying any appreciable proportion of the requirements of India. I repeat therefore what I have already said before: There is ground for hope but not for joy or elation: there are strong reasons for earnest and continued endeavour in the future to secure that success which we are bound to achieve if we are true to ourselves.

And there is one more fact which I would like to impress on you in concluding this brief survey of our present situation. A great deal of attention is naturally paid to the mill

industries of India, and to tea, indigo, coffee and other industries in which European capital is largely employed. We know, however, that the labourers who can possibly be employed in mills and factories form only an insignificant proportion of the industrial population of India. Very much the larger portion of that industrial population is engaged in indigenous industries carried on in village homes and bazaars. India is, and will always remain, a country of cottage industries. Where hundreds of thousands can work in mills and factories, millions and tens of millions work in their own huts; and the idea of greatly improving the condition of the labourers of India, merely by adding to mills and factories, is only possible for those who form their opinions 6000 miles away. No, Gentlemen: any comprehensive plan of improving the condition of our industrial classes must seek to help the dwellers in cottages. It is the humble weavers in towns and villages, the poor braziers and coppersmiths working in their sheds, the resourceless potters and ironsmiths and carpenters who follow their ancestral vocations in their ancestral homes, who form the main portion, and who demand our sympathy and help. It is they (more than the agriculturists, or the mill and factory labourers) that are most impoverished in these days, and are the first victims to famines; and if your *Swadeshi* movement has brought some relief to these obscure and unnoticed millions and tens of millions in India, as I have reason to believe it has done to a perceptible extent; if it has created a larger demand for their manufactures, widened the sphere of their labours, and brought some light to their dark and cheerless homes, then the movement, Gentlemen, has my cordial sympathy. Help and encourage the large industries, but foster and help also the humbler

industries in which tens of millions of village artisans are engaged, and the people of India, as well as those who are engaged in the work of administration, will bless your work.

In saying all this, I do not by any means ignore or minimise our difficulties. We have to recover the ground which we have lost during the last two centuries. We in our ignorance and poverty have to compete with some of the richest, best trained, and most skilful nations on earth. With our ancient methods we have to habituate ourselves to modern ways, to adopt modern inventions, and then to beat those inventions. It is a duel with Western nations with weapons of their own choosing. With weapons with which we are still unfamiliar we must face and conquer those who are past masters in their use. With the produce of our infant mills and our infant iron foundries we must oppose the overwhelming flood of manufactured goods which England, Germany and America are pouring into India.

The danger of extinction with which our industries are threatened is therefore imminent. Keep to your conservative methods, cling to your orthodox ways of work, and your industries must perish. Such is the inexorable law of the survival of the fittest, and such the admonition which a true *Swadeshi* movement ought to give you. If the rush of the steam engine and the whiz of electricity, combined with cheap and easy means of transport, have succeeded in dumping your bazaars with the cheap and attractive products of foreign marts, rise to the occasion and learn how to withstand this inroad with intelligent anticipation and skilful adaptation. Learn to force Nature into a corner; accost her and bring out her inmost secrets, harness her powers, tackle her energies, and make of her a handmaid

unto man. Use Nature to the relief of man's estate. Any competition between skill, capital, and organised enterprise on the one hand, and ignorance, idleness and poverty on the other can only have one result. Learn to combine and co-operate; learn the value of time and the use of money; and the chances of a fairer fight will eventually requite all your efforts.

Swadeshiism can be a genuine economic force under the above conditions. It can be a potent weapon of usefulness if properly understood. There is no economic fallacy in that *Swadeshi* creed that aims at improving the indigenous arts. The genuine *Swadeshi* ought to secure the maximum of production at the minimum of cost. Patriotism demands that the greater cost and the slight discomfort of using indigenous goods should be cheerfully put up with at the outset. But remember that no such movement can be permanently successful unless it involves a determined effort to improve their quality and cheapen their cost, so as to compete successfully with foreign products. The most rigid economist will then have no flaw to find in your *Swadeshi* armour.

A single instance of the pitiable straits to which our industries have been reduced, on account of the difficulties mentioned above, will suffice. The export trade of Indian cane-sugar has now become almost a matter of past history. German and Austro-Hungarian beet-sugar has driven Indian sugar from its own stronghold. In spite of the imposition of duties and extra tariffs, the bounty-fed sugar from Europe captures the market from the Indian refiner even on his own field; and it is curious to observe how the cane-sugar industry of India has suffered in the struggle. The reason is not far to seek: laws can cure only artificial

anomalies; the levy of extra duties can countervail only the adventitious advantage of bounties and subsidies; but what can remedy causes of mischief that lie deeper, ingrained in the very constitution of the Indian grower and inherent in the very conditions under which the Indian refiner has to work? The demand for Indian sugar is large enough; it is even larger than the local refiners can supply; yet the cost of production is so excessively inflated that it pays better to import the cheap beet-sugar, grown with the aid of government bounties, than for India to bring the products of her own growing into her own markets. The growers and refiners pursue a process involving extravagant waste of raw material; and ignorant of the latest inventions of science or art, they adhere to the methods inherited from their sires with a hide-bound orthodoxy.

The same deficiency in improved methods and perfected machinery has also led to the ruin of the tanning industry of Madras. The curing and tanning of skins by an improved process in America has been found more suitable and more economical than the purchase of skins tanned in India. Similarly the manufacture of synthetic indigo, like other coal-tar preparations, has effected a revolution in agricultural chemistry; and the quantities of artificial indigo that the German factories have dumped into the markets of the world, at very cheap rates, have a very depressing influence on the indigo trade of Bengal. The exports of indigo, which in 1895 amounted to about 53,000,000 rupees in value, dwindled down to the low figure of 6,000,000 ten years later, and the decline has been so rapid that it has been a cause of alarm for optimists even of a thoroughly Micawber type. Dyes of no less value than seventy-five lakhs of rupees were poured into the Indian vats from

Germany, Belgium and Holland in 1905; and these aniline dyes have completely ousted the Indian dyes from their own markets.

It thus becomes imperative on all of us to endeavour to minimise this helplessness and enrich the industrial resources of our country. The trade returns of India are an instructive study. They tell us that in 1905, fully 69 per cent. of our exports were represented by bulky agricultural produce, which gave no employment to local skill and capital save that employed in tillage. With regard to the total imports in that year, on the other hand, fully 59 per cent. of the entire amount represented manufactured articles, with reference to which we did not know how to supply our own wants, and had to depend upon foreign skill, foreign capital, and foreign enterprise. A fair criterion of the industrial development of a country may safely be sought in the proportion of its exports of manufactured goods to the export of raw material from the country, and secondly in the proportion of its imports of raw material to the imports of made-up or finished goods. The industrial prosperity of a country may be said roughly to vary directly with its exports of manufactures and imports of raw material; and inversely with its exports of raw produce and imports of manufactured goods. This is a safe and reliable canon of industrial economics.

Our serfdom to foreign capital and to foreign enterprise could scarcely be more complete. Our railways are financed by capital from Europe; our mines are exploited by savants from America, and even in our daily household needs our dependence upon products of foreign marts continues from day to day. We are being fed and clothed, diverted and entertained, lighted and washed, warmed and comforted,

carried and housed, by the foreign artisan. Our arts and industries are standing to-day on the brink of a precipice, and are threatened with imminent extinction. The problem of saving the country from this perilous plight, and emancipating her from economic slavery to the nations from the West, has become the one topic of absorbing interest; and to find a cure for this malady has become the one anxious thought of every patriot and every statesman. You, Gentlemen, have already bestowed your earnest attention on this subject, and I need therefore only make mention of the industries which appear to me to be capable of great progress in the immediate future. The list includes: the textile industries; carpentry and other wood-work; iron, copper and brass work; work in gold and silver and jewellery; masonry and stone-work; pottery and brick and tile making; dyeing; tannery and leather work; rope weaving; cane and bamboo work; mat making and basket work; glass work; turnery and lac work; horn and ivory carving; embroidery; sugar refinery; tobacco curing; and oil and flour mills.

Out of these industries we might select, to begin with, those for which there is a large demand in our home markets, and whose raw material we have been at present exporting in shiploads for working them into finished products abroad. In the place of large exports of raw vegetable products, our endeavour should be to send out large cargoes of manufactured and finished goods. In 1905 we exported oil seeds of the value of 106,000,000 of rupees, and imported oil of the value of 22,000,000. Our oil factories in the Bombay Presidency are said to have supported only 76 operatives at the last census. There is an indefinite scope for the expansion of this manufacturing

industry in the country. Oil pressers have diminished by 47 per cent. during the last decade, as it was found more profitable to export oil seeds, and import pressed oil from abroad, than to press it at home by crude and antiquated processes. Besides, as an authority has pointed out to us, to export the entire oil seed is to export the soil's fertility.

Moreover, every year we export large quantities of wheat and other grain to be ground in foreign mills and import large quantities of flour for our use; while the wheat-grinding mills in the Bombay Presidency afford employment to no more than 78 operatives as the figure for the last census informs us. These are instances of the low state of our industries and of the difficulties under which they suffer. It should be your aim and endeavour to face and conquer these difficulties, and a wise and sympathetic legislation should help your effort and lead you to success.

Four years ago, I made some remarks at Ahmedabad, which with your permission I will repeat to-day. "Famine, increasing poverty, widespread disease, all these bring home to us the fact that there is some radical weakness in our system and that something must be done to remedy it. But there is another and a larger aspect of the matter and that is that this economic problem is our last ordeal as a people. It is our last chance. Fail there and what can the future bring us? We can only grow poorer and weaker, more dependent on foreign help; we must watch our industrial freedom fall into extinction and drag out a miserable existence as hewers of wood and drawers of water to any foreign power which happens to be our master. Solve that problem and you have a great future before you, the future of a great people, worthy of your ancestors and of your old position among the nations." These are words which I spoke

at Ahmedabad; and I repeat them to-day, because we feel the importance of them. Perhaps more than we felt four years ago, we are at a crisis in our national history. The time has come when we must make arduous and united endeavour for securing our industrial independence or we shall sink again, it may be for centuries to come. We must struggle and maintain our ancient position among the industrial nations of the earth, or we shall be betraying a sacred trust, and be false to our posterity.

I am sure you will not accuse me of exaggerating the gravity of the present situation. I am sure you all feel, that if at the present critical time we do not free ourselves from that industrial serfdom into which we have allowed ourselves to sink, we have no hope for the future. This, as I said before, is our last chance.

And now, Gentlemen, you will permit me to say a few words with regard to the work you have undertaken and the methods by which it can best be done. At a critical juncture in our country's industrial history, the Indian National Congress conceived the happy idea of having an Industrial Exhibition in connection with their annual gatherings. From the very first, the Indian and the Provincial Governments rendered every assistance in their power to make these industrial exhibitions a success; and I may add that all classes of the Indian population—Hindus and Muslims, Englishmen and Parsis, merchants and manufacturers, graduates, rich landlords and humble citizens—have worked harmoniously towards this common object. These annual exhibitions fulfil a double purpose. First they inspire manufacturers with healthy emulation, and enable them to make the products of the different provinces known to all India. In the second place they enable traders and

dealers in articles of daily use to obtain accurate information, and collect articles from all parts of India for the use of purchasers in every province and town. These exhibitions have been a success; but let us not deceive ourselves. Compared with the wealth, the variety, the magnitude of Western products as I have seen them abroad, the results we have achieved here are meagre indeed. An exhibition like this simply serves to emphasise our backwardness in utilising the resources at hand. Let us never be satisfied until we attain a standard of perfection that will bear comparison with the Western world. With the sympathetic co-operation of the Government and the quick intelligence of our people, there is no reason why such a result may not be achieved within a generation or two.

Last year, Gentlemen, you took a new departure. Not content with these annual exhibitions, you held an Industrial Conference, and the first Conference was held under the guidance and presidentship of my revenue Minister, Mr R. C. Dutt. The Conference arranged that its work should proceed all through the twelve months instead of being transacted once in the year. It appointed Provincial Industrial Committees at Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Allahabad, Lahore and Nagpur. And it also appointed a permanent secretary and under-secretary with headquarters at Nagpur to compile information, to carry on correspondence and to help the Provincial Committees in their work all through the year. I am glad to find that this central establishment has not gone to sleep over its work; within this closing year the secretary and under-secretary have collected subscriptions which have more than covered the year's expenditure; they have published in a handy form a report of the Conference, embodying all the valuable and

instructive papers which were read at the time; and they have compiled a directory, not complete or exhaustive by any means, but a fair beginning, describing the different industries in the different parts of India. They have also published a very interesting report of the work done during this year in all parts of India.

All this is a good output for a first year's work, but you should not be satisfied with this. Greater progress is expected from you in future years. The weak point in the Conference organisation seems to me that the Central Office is not in sufficient touch with the Provincial Committees, and therefore is not able to render them sufficient help to develop the industries of the different provinces. Besides Provincial Committees you require district and even town associations for closer touch with the masses. India is a country of vast distances; and from many parts of India it takes more than a day and a night to travel to Nagpur. The State can do much to help the outlying provinces; the provinces can do more to help themselves. By such harmonious co-operation towards a common object, I hope to see the work of the Industrial Conference show a continued progress from year to year. A central organisation is needed to co-ordinate all the endeavours that are being made in all parts of India to promote home industries, and the Industrial Conference with its Central Establishment and Provincial Committees was not established a day too soon.

And now I desire to place a few practical suggestions before you such as from my own knowledge and experience occur to me. The first and the most important means of promoting our industries is to spread general education amongst the masses. Great and far-reaching changes might be made in the educational system of the country, and I am

of opinion that no ultimate solution of our problem will be reached until schools have been provided in every village, and education is taken to the very threshold of the people; until in fact education at least in its primary grades has been made free and compulsory throughout the land. I am indeed gratified to learn that the Government of India has already under consideration the policy of making primary education free.

The experiment of free and compulsory education is a novel one in this country; and yet its novelty must not scare us from our duty. I am not, indeed, prepared at this time to recommend the example of some of the socialistic communities of the West in providing free breakfasts, free baths, free boots, and everything else almost, except free beds. I have, however, endeavoured to introduce compulsory education throughout the State of Baroda and hope to see my people benefited by it. The measure has been working with satisfactory results in one part of the State for a number of years. Emboldened by the success of this experiment, I have decided to make primary education compulsory throughout the State, and absolutely free.

Of scarcely less importance at this time of day is the need for industrial education. I must confess that it is my recent visit to Europe and to America that has impressed me most with the immense importance of technical education in promoting the industries of nations. I may state without exaggeration that education has undergone a complete revolution in the West within the present generation. The great armaments of the Western nations, their vast armies and navies, do not receive greater attention and greater solicitude in the present day than that education in industrial pursuits which befits them for the keener struggle

which is continually going on among nations for industrial and manufacturing supremacy.

Among the nations on the continent of Europe, Germany takes the lead in industrial enterprise; and among the many technical institutes of that country, the Royal Technical High School at Berlin is the most famous. A large staff of professors teach over 1500 students, and applied chemistry in oils and colours as well as dyeing, bleaching, printing on cloths and silks, and leather tanning are taught on a scale unequalled in any other country on the continent. France is endeavouring to foster her industries and manufactures in numerous institutes. The Musée des Arts et Métiers of Paris has an extensive collection of machines and models of machines, and science and arts classes are held there on important technological subjects. The French Government manage the Sèvres Royal Porcelain Factory and the Gobelins Tapestry Factory; and frequent exhibitions are held in the Grand and Petit Palais of Paris.

Austria is not far behind, and Vienna has Technical Schools on a smaller scale, each teaching some branch of technical art. Italy has her Technical Academies; and a Polytechnic Institute, planned on the lines of the Cassanova Institute at Naples, might serve anywhere to collect the best craftsmen and the most promising apprentices under the same roof, and extend the moral influence of the teacher to the pupils. All the experts of art would be collected there and interchange ideas about their trade deficiencies and trade difficulties.

In London, the City and Guilds' Technical College, the County Council's Schools of Arts and Crafts, and the several Polytechnics, are among the many institutions where a practical training in arts and industries is imparted

to the people. The new universities of Manchester, Birmingham and Leeds pay special attention to technical education, as the older universities of Oxford, Cambridge and London take up liberal and classical education. The Municipal School of Technology at Manchester is a monument of the enterprise of that great manufacturing city, and teaches mechanical, electrical, municipal and sanitary engineering, technical physics, industrial and general chemistry, bleaching, dyeing, printing and finishing of textiles, paper manufactures, metallurgy and various other subjects. Some students from Baroda are engaged in the study of acids and alkali manufacture, and plumbing and sanitary engineering in this school.

But of all the countries which I have recently visited, it is America where I found the highest development of industrial education. Every single State in the United States has a State College where technical education is given to students absolutely free. No fees are charged in these State Colleges, because the proper training of citizens in technical arts is considered a matter of national importance, and lands and annual grants are assigned by the States for the maintenance of the colleges. Every State College teaches agriculture and engineering, and also gives some training to the students in military tactics. Other subjects are also taught according to the resources of these colleges. Besides these State Colleges there are some forty-three privately endowed Technical Institutes all over the United States, where engineering is taught in all its branches—civil, electrical, mechanical and marine. Architecture, drawing, modelling and the textile industries are also among the subjects taught. The great Institute of Technology at Boston with its 2500 students, the Armour Institute at

Chicago with its 2000 students, and the Pratt Institute at New York with its 1500 students are the best known among these privately endowed Technical Institutes. I need hardly add that the great universities like Harvard, Yale and Columbia also teach engineering in all its branches; and what will surprise you more, almost every High School has classes for manual training, comprising carpentry, smithy and machine shops.

I have not yet visited Japan, but we all know what Japan has done within the lifetime of one generation. Her victories in the battlefield have lately brought that wonderful land among the foremost nations on earth, but the victories of Nanshan and Mukden are not more brilliant than the triumphs of her industries achieved by a system of technical education which leaves very little to be desired.

My second suggestion to you is that, besides establishing technical schools you should endeavour to introduce some manual training in the ordinary schools. The training of the eye and of the hand at an early age is useful to all—even to those who have not to support themselves by manual industry in life. Early lessons in drawing and modelling, simple instruction in carpentry and smith's work, are good for all students in all ranks of life. Physicians and psychologists tell us that such exercises, by introducing a variety in the course of studies, really refresh and help the brain, and make boys and girls more capable of acquiring both learning and practical skill. Moreover, to attach some industrial classes to our ordinary schools would have the healthy effect of giving a complete and not one-sided education to our children. The richer classes would be brought more in touch with the humble industries; the poor classes would acquire that skill and facility in handling tools which can

be effectively acquired only at an early age; people in all branches of life would be impressed with the dignity of manual labour more than they are now in India. Your great endeavour to promote the industries of the land would be greatly helped when the nation receives an elementary technical training in schools. At the same time it is necessary to bear constantly in mind that no amount of specific training in manual arts can fill the place of that liberal education and general culture which should serve as the necessary substratum for all kinds of learning. Technical training is a supplement, but not a substitute, for general education, and should never be turned into a fad.

I have tried to impress on you, Gentlemen, the importance of founding technical schools, and of introducing manual training in your ordinary schools, throughout India. Years will, however, pass before this can be done on an adequately extensive scale, so that India can take her legitimate place among the nations of the earth in industrial education and mechanical inventions. It follows, therefore, that for years and perhaps generations you must send your young men to Europe, America and Japan for that complete industrial training which they cannot yet receive at home. Make no mistake, and let no time-honoured prejudices deter you from travelling to other parts of the earth and receiving that new light, that new culture, those new ideas, which even the most gifted and advanced nations prize, and which India needs perhaps more than any other civilised nation. The healthy results of foreign travel and of comparing notes with foreign nations are already manifest to India in every department of life within the last fifty years. Nothing impressed me more upon my recent return to India than the changed attitude of many of my countrymen towards

foreign institutions. Men of all ranks have been eager to learn my impressions of Western nations. Such a spirit of enquiry is always healthful if it proceeds from a sincere thirst for knowledge. I was much interested in learning while in America that some two or three thousand students every year go abroad to learn the best of European methods in education and in commerce, while the national Government sends men to all parts of the world to study the products of other lands. England, Germany and France with all their commercial prestige do not hesitate to send enquirers to foreign parts. Coming nearer home, we find that hundreds of Japanese young men complete their education in France, Germany, England and America. Such is the desire for knowledge and the whole-heartedness of the latter, that not only do they acquire a special education in whatever subject they may be engaged, but they also provide themselves with the means of livelihood, not shrinking from the humblest occupations.

Japan profited most by sending out her youths to the seminaries of Europe. She owes her present greatness to that illustrious band of scholar-statesmen, who imbibed the first principles in the science of politics and the art of government at the universities of Göttingen and Leipzig. She is to-day the mistress of the Eastern seas because of her student-sailors, who acquired their first lessons in naval warfare in the docks of Tilbury and Portsmouth. Her battles are fought and won by her soldiers, who had been themselves initiated into the mysteries of manœuvring and the secrets of stratagem in France and Germany. And she bids fair to assume the supreme place in the trade of the Orient on account of her scholar-financiers, who have rubbed shoulders with bankers in the counting-houses of London,

Berlin and New York. Has the world ever seen a nobler instance of young men architecturing the fortunes of their Mother-Land? Can we conceive a higher example of patriotism for India's sons to emulate? Let us follow their spirit of self-sacrifice and devotion. Let us hold up their ideal of national unity and social equality, learn their eagerness to acquire the newest methods in all walks of life; imitate their perseverance and patient toil; and we may yet save the fortunes of our country.

I have learnt with pleasure that an earnest and patriotic worker of this province, Mr Jogendra Chandra Ghosh, the worthy son of a worthy father, has organised a scheme for sending young men to Europe and America for education; and that a large number of students have already been sent in accordance with this scheme. Nothing gave me greater pleasure while abroad, than coming in touch with several Bengalis who were studying in Europe and America. Although far away from India, they had the kindest and most patriotic feelings for their native land. India is to be congratulated in having such men. This policy has also been pursued by the State of Baroda for many years past, and young men educated in Europe at State expense are now serving the State with credit, or finding profitable employment in other parts of India. Several young students have lately been sent to England and Germany, America and Japan; and a scheme is now under consideration to send a limited number of students at regular intervals, mainly to learn the methods of modern industry.

Gentlemen, India is to-day at the parting of the ways. There are great possibilities before her. The people of Bombay for instance are looking forward to the use of electricity generated in the Western Ghauts for working

their mills. The people of Madras are looking forward to the experiments made in "Tree Cotton". All India looks forward to the happiest results from the Research Institute, for which we are indebted to the late lamented Mr Tata. There is stir; and the people are showing signs of awakening. This is hopeful; but let us not forget that years of patient toil are before us, that it is only by patience and perseverance that we can ever succeed in competing with the West in industrial pursuits. We need the spirit of determination, of courage, of confidence in ourselves and in each other; we need to distinguish between essentials and non-essentials, between the spirit which vivifies and the letter that kills. Let our energies be not distracted in small things.

I now desire, with your kind indulgence, to add a word on the lessons that seem to me to arise from the experience of different nations—lessons which are pertinent to India at this juncture. Turning to ancient Egypt, once the centre of the most advanced civilisation of the time, we discover that vast resources, agricultural and mineral, are not alone sufficient to produce a cultured and permanent civilisation; though the foundation of all stable civilisations must fall back in the last analysis upon the natural resources of the country. Egypt in ancient times had abundant resources, but, failing to note the value of human life, failing to conserve the interests of the working masses, she sank from the pinnacle of power and culture into political servitude and academic decay. The nation that despises its humblest classes, that provides for them no opportunity to rise in the social scale and in self-esteem, is building its house upon the sand. The wealth of a nation is the quality of its manhood.

Greece fell from her eminence not from any failure of philosophical insight; in these directions she has been the

chief source of inspiration for the whole Western world. Pericles, Plato and Aristotle are still household names in the West. Athens faded away like a fragrant memory because she failed to look to the economic bases of her prosperity. Had she taken pains to utilise her splendid maritime location for the development of commerce and industry; had she confided her commercial affairs to her freemen instead of to her slaves; had she applied the sagacity of her statesmen to the formation of a sound fiscal policy; the story of Athens might have had a different dénouement. But she wasted her mineral resources and expended large sums in the erection of great temples of worship and art and learning. Far be it from us to suggest any criticism against the civilisation which has been the fountain-head of all subsequent growth in the culture of the West. I would simply point out that without a permanent and stable economic policy, no civilisation, however enlightened, can long endure. This is the message of ancient Greece to modern India. Be careful of large expenditure, either individually or collectively, which is unproductive. Bid her people forget their caste and tribal prejudices in the common effort to uplift the fortunes of India; bid them find expression for their religious enthusiasm in practical co-operation for the uplifting of humanity—of the human spirit in the temple of God. Bid them be free men, economically, socially, and intellectually; and no power under Heaven can long keep them in servitude.

Rome, too, has its lesson for India. In the complex and far-reaching series of disasters which led to the downfall of Rome, it would be difficult indeed to designate any one factor as the premier cause of the catastrophe. But of this we may be sure, that the highly centralised and paternal

Government which developed under the later Caesars was a potent cause of weakness to the Empire. Private initiative and individual responsibility gave place to State operation of manufactures and industry. Insufficient currency and military oppression drove the husbandman from his plough and the merchant from his counter. The people looked to the Caesar for corn, and out of the public treasury the hungry were fed, if they were fed at all. The Emperor ruled by force of arms; manufactures were operated by a system of forced labour under the strictest surveillance of the State; the civilian was forced into idleness and vice; the masses into pauperism and dejection. The national spirit decayed, and Rome fell an easy prey to the ravaging hordes from the North.

At this crucial period in India's emancipation we shall need to keep constantly in mind the failure of Rome. No permanently sound and stable development can occur unless we take pains to educate the masses of our people to a sense of their paramount importance and dignity in the social structure. I conceive it to be the prime duty of the enlightened and well-to-do amongst us to arouse, to stimulate, and to educate the lower classes. We should help them to help themselves. But ever let us beware of paternalism: not charity but co-operation is the crying need of the hour.

Let our people as rapidly as possible be educated in the principles of economics, and let special pains be taken for the development of an honest, intelligent, entrepreneur class, who will be content to organise and manage our new industries without sapping their life by demanding exorbitant profits.

Ancient India too has lessons for us. I have already spoken of India's rich products and her brisk trade with the West in ancient times. But her mechanical inventions were

slow because mechanical work was left to hereditary castes somewhat low in the scale of society. Our sculpture does not compare favourably with the sculpture and architecture of ancient Greece, and our mechanical progress does not keep pace with the mechanical inventions of modern nations, because our intellectual classes have been divorced, for centuries and thousands of years, from manual industry, which has been left to the humbler and less intellectual classes. In literature and thought we need fear no comparison with the most gifted nations on the earth. The genius for craftsmanship is also among the people, as is evidenced by the ingenuity and skill of our artisan classes. Make industrial pursuits the property of the nation, instead of the exclusive possession of castes; let sons of Brahmins and of learned Moulvies learn to use tools in their boyhood; let every graduate, who feels a call towards mechanical work, turn to that pursuit in life instead of hankering after salaried posts; and I am convinced the national genius will prove and assert itself in industries and inventions as well as in literature and thought.

Turning to the Western world of modern times, we discover lessons of the utmost importance for India at this time. As I look back over the last few centuries which have raised the nations of the West from the darkness of mediaevalism to their present high degree of civilisation, it seems to me that four historical movements are plainly discernible as important factors in that development.

The first movement to which I refer is the capitalistic programme of the last few centuries. I do not need to dwell before such an audience as this upon the advantages of a capitalistic organisation of industries, with its attendant systems of credit, banks and exchanges, with its economy

of production and its facility of distribution in the scientific application of capital. We still have many things to learn from the nations of the West. For this reason I am firmly convinced that we need to devote large sums to the founding of Chairs of Economics in our colleges, and to the training of our young men in the subtle problems of finance. Let the brightest of our young patriots be sent to Western universities to master the principles of economic polity.

The second movement in the West is the taking of social, political and commercial affairs, which are purely secular in nature, out of the hands of the priests. In the thirteenth century the Church of Rome and her minions dictated not only matters of religious import but reached out in many directions to control all the relations of life, both individual and collective. For three centuries the popular will struggled against the secular tendencies of the Church, until led to open revolt by Martin Luther. Since that revolt the principle has been firmly established, and is held with special vigour in America, that the realm of the Church is in matters of moral and metaphysical import, and that social, political and commercial relationships must be left to the individual consciences of those who participate in them. And in this connection I merely desire to point out, that in so far as India's religious ideas tend to keep many of our brightest and best minds out of practical affairs, out of the scientific, political and commercial movements of the time, by so far do the religious and philosophic systems stand in the way of her progress towards economic independence. Why have the people of India been tardy in grasping the scientific principles of Western industrial organisation? I shall not presume to answer the question at any length but content myself with suggesting that we must, as a

people, look well to the religious and social foundations of our national life. Break the monopoly of caste prerogatives and social privileges. They are self-arrogated, and are no more inherent in any one caste than commercial predominance or political supremacy in any one nation. Learn the luxury of self-sacrifice; elevate your brethren of the humbler castes to your own level; and smooth all artificial angularities. Always appraise action more than talk, and ever be ready to translate your word into deed.

I desire in the next place to call your attention to the development of the national spirit. Throughout Europe of the last 2000 years there has been constant progress in the unifying and the solidifying of national life. Petty states and warring principalities have given place to strong, compact and homogeneous nations, each possessing decided national characteristics, and each working through the patriotic impulses of all its people for the preservation of the national ideal. Now I find in my reading that the most frequent criticism offered against us as a people by candid critics is that we are disunited, many-minded, and incapable of unselfish co-operation for national ends. If this criticism is true, if it is true that India is a mass of small, heterogeneous peoples unfitted for independent national existence, then it behoves us as intelligent men and patriots to put in motion the principles of unity and co-operation. To this end I favour the adoption of a national speech and the inculcation of a national spirit.

And the last movement to which I would direct your attention is the development of Science in Europe during the last 150 years. The story of that development reads like a romance of olden times. Within that period have been developed railways, steamships, electric telegraphs, the

telephone, friction matches, gas illumination, knowledge of electricity in all its multiform applications, photography, Roentgen rays, spectrum analysis, anaesthetics, the modern science of chemistry, the laws of the molecular constitution of matter, of the conservation of energy, of organic evolution, the germ theory of disease, and many other theories of the utmost practical importance in modern life.

I submit, my friends, that India's part in this wonderful movement has been shamefully small. Can it be true, as one writer has said, that some "strange fact of arrested development, probably due to mental exhaustion, has condemned the people of India to eternal reproduction of old ideas"? I cannot believe that the intellectual power of India is exhausted, nor can I believe that her people are no longer capable of adding to the sum of human knowledge. We have an intense and justifiable pride in the contribution of our sages of bygone days to the philosophic, the literary, and the artistic wealth of the world. It should be our chief pride, our supreme duty, and our highest glory, to regain the intellectual supremacy of the ancient days. The atmosphere of the West is throbbing with vigorous mental life. The pursuit of new truth is the first concern of every stalwart mind of the West, while the mass of our people are content to live stolid, conventional lives, blindly following the precepts of the fathers, rather than emulating the example they set of intellectual independence and constructive energy. I cannot do better than close my remarks with those fine lines of the poet:

The east bowed low before the blast
  In patient, deep disdain;
She let the legions thunder past,
  Then bowed in thought again.

I would not for a moment have you think, my friends, that I return from the West a convert to Western ideals, or in any sense a pessimist concerning the future of India. There are many defects in the Western civilisation that no impartial student of affairs may ignore. The evils that have grown up in the centralising of population in the great industrial cities constitute, in my judgment, a serious menace to the future of those races. There are weighty problems of administration, of morals, of public health, which the West, with all its ingenuity has not been able to solve. There is the eternal conflict between capital and labour which is becoming more acute as time goes on. Nor can one visit the great commercial centres of the West without feeling that the air is surcharged with the miasmic spirit of greed. Everywhere the love of display, and the sordid worship of material wealth and power, has poisoned the minds of the people against the claims of the simple, homely life, which the Indian, in his love for the things of the spirit, has cultivated since history began.

It may be the mission of India, clinging fast to the philosophic simplicity of her ethical code, to solve the problems which have baffled the best minds of the West—to build up a sound economic policy along modern scientific lines, and at the same time preserve the simplicity, the dignity, the ethical and spiritual fervour of her people. I can conceive of no loftier mission for India than this; to teach Philosophy to the West and learn its Science; impart purity of life to Europe and attain to her loftier political ideal; inculcate spirituality to the American mind and imbibe the business ways of its merchants.

XL

While on a visit to the Chief of Bhor, on the 16th of September 1907, His Highness made a short Speech on the subject of social reform on the occasion of a gathering for the distribution of school prizes. In the course of this Speech, His Highness said:

When we think of the subjects of the State, we must include not only men but women as well, who are very closely concerned in our earthly affairs. If husbands and wives and the whole class of men and women generally are on an equal footing and are equally moral, their children are also usually equally moral. Let us take the instance of Shivaji* Maharaj. His dear mother, Jijabai, was herself of a good moral character and wise. History tells us that it was the result of these good qualities of his mother that Shivaji was able to achieve good deeds. Not everyone can be a Shivaji: but I hope each one of you will try so to mould your character as to be Shivaji in miniature. Everybody should behave with morality, practical wisdom and purity of heart. When the subjects are wise, courageous and morally pure, it is not necessary to have recourse to legislation, and there is very little danger of their independence being curtailed by it.

I think it is a great mistake to get girls married at their eighth or ninth year without duly thinking over what is really meant by the old *Śāstras*. Some people here will look upon my thoughts as mistaken and narrow. They will pardon me, when I request you to think over your own *Śāstras* and discuss what necessary changes should be effected so as to suit the present times. Early marriages will never allow you to rise. Early marriages produce bad

* Shivaji, the great leader and warrior who founded the Maratha empire, born about 1627 and died in 1680.

effects upon worldly careers. If you wish for happiness and if you think that early marriages have a tendency to produce bad effects, put a stop to them.

All reformers in religion have been vilified by the people: not only this, they have often been persecuted and excommunicated. History tells us, however, that when people do come to perceive their mistakes, they begin to praise the reformers: therefore we must not mind public criticism. We must not shrink from our duty. We must put up with difficulties in achieving good ends. Our future well-being depends upon this reform in regard to the age of marriage, and we must persevere in our efforts to achieve this wholly desirable end.

A great many advantages follow from the cessation of early marriages. It has a salutary effect upon the constitution of girls; their education tends to be improved, and the future generation becomes strong and healthy. The education of the male and female population becomes a combined source of the prosperity of a nation. Early marriages are not at all desirable if you wish your future generation to be brave, morally pure and strong. Do not depend simply upon what I say, but look for yourselves into the thoughts, the books and the conditions of different countries. If you pay close attention to this subject you will come to know that you are wrong, and that the system of early marriages is disadvantageous.

The Brahmin class is comparatively learned, and if the country is to be improved, their thoughts must be improved along with their learning. Consider for yourselves how great is the responsibility of the Brahmin Bhikshuk class. I grieve to find that it is totally indifferent to this responsibility. Pardon me, but what I say is true: the condition of

the Bhikshuk class is like that of a bullock with a bag of sugar on its back. What this Bhikshuk class learns by rote is of no practical utility. If this class remains ignorant in this manner, the country will not in any way be benefited by it. Learned Śāstris can talk well enough on different subjects in Sanskrit, but they are, as it were, out of their element when they are asked to express their thoughts in their mother-tongue. I have, therefore, made it compulsory for new-comers to present themselves for the Entrance Examination before they are admitted to the State Sanskrit Schools. Religious preceptors must themselves be persons of sound learning. The ruler must boldly make reforms in old customs if it is possible, and at the same time beneficial, to do so.

XLI

SWADESHI & WESTERN METHODS

An Address delivered by His Highness at the Opening of the new Bank of Baroda on the 9th of July 1908.

GENTLEMEN,—It gives me great pleasure to participate in the inauguration of the Bank of Baroda, Ltd. I have long wished that the people of my State would combine in the organisation of a joint stock banking concern, believing, as I do, that a Bank of this nature will prove a beneficial agency for the lending, transmission, and deposit of money, and a powerful factor in the development of the arts, industries, and commerce of the State and adjoining territories. And I am very glad a scheme has been worked out by the Department of Economics upon the basis on which not only my immediate subjects could combine, but also upon which the co-operation of such influential gentlemen as Dewan Bahadur Ambalal Sakarlal and the Hon. Sir Vithaldas Thackersey* and others could be attracted.

The concessions which have been granted by the Baroda Government are the result of mature deliberation, and should be sufficiently convincing evidence of my own attitude towards the project. My motive has been simply and solely to satisfy what seemed to me a natural want. The Government itself has no immediate need of such an

* Sir Vithaldas Thackersey, a leading financier of Bombay, who took an important part in the public life of Bombay; Member of the Imperial Legislative Council, Calcutta, 1910–1913.

institution, though I am not without expectation that it will prove an agency of great usefulness to the administration. The primary object is to satisfy a demand which the people themselves have made upon us from time to time for such a financial institution of their own. Government has, therefore, left the management of the Bank to a private corporation, withholding its hand from any official interference with the operations, following in this respect the example of the Presidency Banks of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras.

At the same time, I must say that the granting of these large concessions and the assignment of the control to the people themselves imposes upon them and their representatives on the Board of Directors a solemn responsibility to carry out faithfully and conscientiously the objects for which the Bank is founded, and to see that no motives of personal animosity or personal aggrandisement creep in to mar the harmonious and businesslike management of the Bank's affairs. These concessions are granted in the expectation that the public, peculiarly the commercial public, will be as liberal in its support of the institution as Government on its part has been in granting the terms of its subsidy and alienating the control. If my people prove capable of co-operation in the flotation and management of this institution, I see no reason why it should not become the forerunner of many agencies of a popular nature for the spread of commercial and industrial prosperity; and in particular the organisation of a strong system of agricultural Banks should follow as a logical corollary of the present enterprise, if it meets with that large measure of success which is anticipated for it.

This institution should be, in and of itself, a great object-lesson in co-operative enterprise, and a constant educator

in modern methods of commercial intercourse. The unqualified success which has attended the recent organisation of the two *Swadeshi* Banks of Bombay has proved beyond dispute that Indian financiers can hold their own with the shrewdest minds of any country. Banking in its various forms has from time immemorial been a fine art with certain communities of the Indian people, and this is especially true of the Marwadis and Banias of Western India. The weakness in the indigenous methods of banking hitherto has been the lack of combination and co-operation on a large scale, such as the principles of joint stock holdings and limited liability of shareholders make possible.

If industrialism is ever to obtain a strong footing in this country—and, after all, the first object for which every enlightened patriot of India is striving to-day, is for the development of indigenous industries on a scale commensurate with the enormous demand of the country, and on a scientific basis sufficiently effective to ward off foreign competition—if ever the languishing industries of India are to be revived, I say, a preliminary step, or at least a concomitant step, must be the reorganisation of our methods of finance, so as to centralise the countless driblets of capital into powerful reservoirs where its outlet can be controlled and directed into productive channels.

The genius of the Indian people is not primarily scientific or industrial, and the competition of the West with its scientific and highly centralised organisation of capital and machinery has long since driven from the field the ancient crude methods of our forefathers, never to revive to any appreciable degree or for any length of time. The obvious moral is, that India, after the noble example of Japan, must set herself diligently to the mastery of Western science

and Western methods in all that concerns finance and industries.

I am perfectly aware that this is not a new gospel; and yet, as this is in my opinion the keynote of future progress, its continued reiteration must go on until even the man of the dullest intelligence comprehends. No reactionary sentiment of mere respect for the past will save India from the unrelenting pressure of foreign competition; no amount of emotional patriotism will drag us out of the slough of economic dependence. We must set our faces as a nation grimly and patiently to master modern methods and the implements that have mastered us. It is Science against traditional belief, and Science will win. I reiterate, therefore, Gentlemen, that the organisation of such institutions as the Bank of Baroda has a deep significance beyond mere considerations of present expediency. The business aspects of the project have been eloquently presented by Dewan Bahadur Ambalal and the Hon. Sir Vithaldas, and it is not my purpose to trench upon the ground which they have covered so well. But I desire to call your attention to certain large aspects of the general movement, of which this Bank is but one of the manifestations. I refer to the economic movement known as *Swadeshiism*.

Swadeshiism covers, to be sure, a great variety of activities, and is capable of a great variety of definitions, but to my mind it is essentially a recognition of our national weakness in matters scientific and industrial and a determined effort to overcome it. To acquire economic freedom is the end and aim of *Swadeshiism*. And this can only be done by mastering the technique of Western industrialism. Industrialism, broadly speaking, is the application of scientific invention to the production and distribution of all the

articles required by society to satisfy its wants. Inherent in the system and inextricably bound up with it are the scientific methods of finance to which I have already alluded. Industrialism needs for its purposes the joint stock bank and the exchange no less imperatively than the machine and the waterfall. So that in my use of the word industrialism I shall be understood to mean, not only machinery, the product of scientific invention, but also banking and the other agencies of credit, the products of scientific organisation.

What, then, is the significance of industrialism in modern society, and what results would flow from its widespread introduction into India? This is, no doubt, a large subject, and one that is fraught with many difficulties in its elucidation. But as it is possible that some of us have not realised why and how industrialism is justified in the social economy, and what are its bearings, economic, political, and cultural, I shall attempt, without going into a lengthy dissertation on the subject, to make a brief analysis of its effects on Western society.

Commerce in the olden days, until a century and a half ago in fact, was limited to the products of agriculture, the hunt, and the handicrafts. Merchants there were who understood the value of organisation and the reproductive functions of capital. But it was not until the introduction of machinery in the processes of production and the widespread application of credit in the organisation of industries, that rapid progress became possible. The ownership of the implements of production—factories and machinery—passed inevitably, it is true, from the handicraftsman to the capitalist. And it is sometimes questioned whether the process has been accompanied with any lasting good to the

working masses. Certainly in many individual cases it could be shown that the workman has suffered, in the loss of that independence from overlordship which is sometimes extolled as the blessing of the humble cottager who labours at his own hand-loom. But I am convinced that it is easy to exaggerate the so-called independence which the workman enjoys under a handicraft organisation of manufactures. Assuredly the mere fact that the handicraftsman performs his daily task with his wife and children to assist him is no proof of real independence. As a matter of fact, the workman's hours of labour are generally longer and his liberty of movement much less than under industrialism. The test comes when we enquire which system leads, on the whole, to the higher standard of living, the larger opportunity for the education of children, and the slow but steady development of the individual personality of the workman.

I think that no one who has critically compared the condition of our handicraftsman of India, working from day to day, from century to century, for the minimum of subsistence, with the condition of the factory labourer of the West, begrimed it may be with soot, but nevertheless on the whole well-fed and well-housed, can fail to realise the economic and social advantages of industrialism. Industrial organisation brings not only the machine to the help of the labourer. That in itself might not be an unmixed good, for too often the workman tends to become the mere mechanic, the slave of his iron implement. But the overwhelming advantage to the workman and to all society of industrialism becomes at once apparent when we consider the diversity of pursuits which it brings, and the tremendous accumulation of wealth.

We hear much in the West of the injustice of large private

fortunes, and certainly there is much truth in these allegations against capitalism. Nevertheless the substantial truth is, as anyone may discover who carefully studies the subject, that under industrialism private fortunes are growing ever larger, a larger proportion of the population is acquiring wealth, and the whole mass of people is lifted up to a higher standard of living. Private accumulations of wealth are justified, as also the competitive basis on which they exist, if it can be shown that the general welfare is enhanced thereby. Great fortunes under the industrial system consist not in treasure privately hoarded, but in stocks, bonds, and securities, and these are merely representative of factories, railroads, mines, and other agencies of production and distribution, through which the labourer of all trades obtains his employment and his wages. The private fortune of modern times is therefore only nominally private and all the wealth of an industrial society belongs in a very real sense to the whole people.

What interest, what dividends, it may be asked, does society draw from these possessions? In the first place, as I have already pointed out, society at large, including the manual labourer, draws a larger wage and lives on a better plane than would be possible under the old handicraft organisation of manufactures. In the second place, the accumulation of wealth makes possible the shifting of foodstuffs in tremendous volume from place to place, and continent to continent, so that famine and starvation are comparatively unknown. In the third place, the agencies of culture, such as schools and colleges, libraries, museums, art galleries, hospitals, etc., are increased *ad infinitum*, until they are brought within the reach of every class of society, even the lowest. The door of opportunity opens for every individual

as wealth is increased and disseminated throughout the community.

The gist of the whole matter is this, that with the development of the industrial system mankind has learned to throw a large part of its burden on the machine. During working hours the productivity of the whole mass is increased a hundredfold. During sleep the interest on capital goes on piling up. So wealth is produced automatically. Society at large reaps the benefit, notwithstanding the apparent injustice of so much luxury for the rich, while the masses are forced to work for daily bread. The masses will always work. The problem of every society is how to make the conditions of work as wholesome as possible and to enlarge the field for individual development.

It will thus be seen that the industrial problem has many bearings other than those which are economic in the narrow sense of that word. With the growth of industrialism in India is sure to come an enlarged outlook and an increased capacity of the whole social organism for things political, educational and ethical.

With the growth of industrialism, craftiness and chicanery are bound to give way to an increasing straightforwardness of dealing between man and man. Numerous writers have borne testimony to the fact that the influence of Science and industrialism in the Western world has lifted the people to a higher standard of commercial morality than formerly existed. No more convincing evidence of this fact could be adduced than the respect in which British integrity in commercial relations is held in this country. Furthermore, with the increase of private wealth which industrialism brings is sure to come increased facilities for the spread of education and culture among the masses. With wealth

and education comes increasing capacity for political affairs. It is an ancient truism that the good administrator must be a sound business man.

It is my profound conviction, therefore, Gentlemen, that the line of least resistance in the progress of India at this time lies in the hard study and consistent application of the paraphernalia of industrialism to Indian conditions. Only in this manner can we fit ourselves for the larger demands of statesmanship. And only in this way can we as a people expect ever to enter the haven of economic independence. As the West owes its progress of the last couple of centuries to the application of scientific invention to all phases of life, so India must look to the same formula. I do not, in the least, minimise the necessity of reform in the social organism and reform in the political administration, but change in these directions is apt to be slow unless forced from beneath by an ever-increasing sense of industrial independence and economic self-respect, if I may be allowed to use such an expression. It is my duty to impress upon my people, again and again, that the development of industries and commerce rests primarily upon them. Without individual pluck, perseverance, energy, and foresight, we are powerless to effect any solid and lasting improvement in the economic condition of the country.

It is therefore with great pleasure that I welcome an enterprise like the Bank of Baroda, Ltd., built on the solid foundation of private capital and private enterprise. I welcome it not alone as an agency for the immediate satisfaction of the monetary needs of the community, but as an educational factor of no mean importance and as a symbol of that larger movement which is to give us a place eventually among the industrial nations.

Once again I must insist that the success of this project rests upon the people themselves. Government has done all in its power to give its support, moral and financial, to the Bank, but its successful flotation and management will depend upon the practical interest and assistance which my people are willing to give to an enterprise which is designed solely for their benefit. I need hardly say that the Bank is in no sense intended as an agency for loans to Government; it is a private enterprise subsidised by Government in the interests of the community at large. Upon its success depends in large measure the future development of trade and industries within our dominions. I commend it therefore to your practical sympathies and co-operation. With these remarks, Gentlemen, I desire to thank the promoters and directors for the lead which they have taken in this matter, and to wish for them continued success.

XLII

On Friday the 5th of February 1909 His Highness gave a Banquet in honour of the retiring British Resident, Lieut.-Colonel M. J. Meade,* C.I.E., and Mrs Meade, who during their seven years' stay in Baroda had made many friends. In proposing the Toast to their continued good health and happiness, His Highness said:

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I have to acknowledge before you all the deep regret which I feel at this moment for the imminent retirement of my friend, Colonel Meade, from the Residency at Baroda. During the seven years of his incumbency as the representative of His Majesty and the Viceroy at the Court of Baroda, no single incident has arisen to mar the pleasant relations which have now for

* Lieut.-Colonel M. J. Meade, British Resident at Baroda, November 1901–February 1909.

many years subsisted between my Government and the Residency. When questions of grave moment have arisen, affecting the interests of my Government, or my people, I have always felt that in Colonel Meade I had an advocate at Court who would, to the extent of his powers, endeavour to secure impartial justice between ourselves and the paramount power. If at times we may have been disappointed, we have been assured at least of his comprehension and sympathy. In fact I may say that our whole relationship has been of a friendly—a cordially friendly—nature. It has been a pleasure for me from time to time to lay aside the burden of official life, and to participate with him in the joys of the chase and the athletic field.

I should not be doing justice to my esteemed friend, if I did not refer to the excellent influence which Colonel Meade has exerted on the social life of this capital. At a time when ominous clouds threatened in the political sky, it has been most fortunate that here and there some stalwart figures have stood, like my friend Colonel Meade, as a mediating and softening influence between the governing and subject classes. To that influence we owe such an occurrence as the recent opening of the Baroda Gymkhana to those cultured Indian gentlemen who serve my Government. This, a small incident in itself to be sure, is nevertheless to my mind a happy omen of better days to come, when Indian and Englishman, uniting on a basis of equal culture, will gladly give and take in the privileges of social intercourse.

The growing disparagement between the classes had often been remarked in recent years, in the press and on the platform, by Indian and Englishman alike. It has attracted the attention of no less august a personage than His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. It is a tendency that every

well-wisher of the British Empire should deprecate. And I fancy that there is no greater service that we, as well-wishers, can render, than to combat to the extent of our individual influence the spread and maturation of such a feeling. It is a matter of real gratification to me that on an occasion like this we can all meet together at a common board as Anglo-Saxon and Indian. We should not tolerate any feeble sentimentalism on this subject. We should find it difficult to condone the amorphous hodge-podge known as a Mutual Admiration Society. On the other hand, we may encourage without disparagement any attempt on the part of the two races to meet together on a footing of mutual respect and mutual courtesy. I do not wish to bore you with a longer dissertation on this topic; and I mention it at this time merely because I desire to emphasise the oneness of view on this subject which I believe characterises the relations between myself and my friend Colonel Meade.

And now, in conclusion, I may be allowed once more to refer to my deep regret at the severance of those cordial and friendly relations between myself and Colonel Meade. For three generations our family traditions have intertwined. It was back in 1854 that Colonel Meade's family, in the person of his grandfather Colonel Duncan Archibald Malcolm, first became associated with Baroda. Colonel Malcolm died at Baroda and is buried in the cemetery here. Subsequently, Colonel Meade's father, the honoured Sir Richard Meade, came to Baroda first in 1873 as Commissioner in a special enquiry, and afterwards, by a happy coincidence, as Resident in the year 1875 at the time when the present Maharaja of Baroda was installed on the throne. Colonel Meade, no less than his illustrious forebears, has left his impress upon the history of Baroda. And I desire

that you shall unite with me in honouring him and Mrs Meade, whom we shall both miss.

I ask you first to rise and drink with me the Toast to their health and happiness, and you will have pleasure, I am sure, in viewing the excellent likenesses of both of them which the skilled fingers of the artist have wrought, and which we shall always cherish as mementoes of those pleasant occasions on which we were able to meet as friends.

His Highness then unveiled the portraits of Colonel and Mrs Meade which had been painted under his instructions by Mr Samuel.

XLIII

IDEALS AND AIMS FOR INDIAN STUDENTS

A Speech delivered by His Highness at the Prize Distribution at the Baroda College on the 1st of September 1909.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—It is a great pleasure to me to be able to attend this very agreeable function of distribution of prizes at the Baroda College in the present year, and I sincerely appreciate the kind welcome which the college, through its Principal, has accorded to me. The progress of this institution, the highest educational institution in my State, always enlists my sympathy; and it is a source of personal gratification to me whenever my many duties permit me to come among you, Professors and students of this college, on such occasions as this.

I have listened with much interest to the Report which Principal Clarke has read on the progress of the last year. He has referred to the new endowments which have been added to the college within the last few years, and I am glad to learn that men who are associated with this institution, or who are interested in the cause of higher education in Baroda, evince in this manner their desire to promote the welfare of the college. Encouragement is given to students in other ways also, besides the grant of scholarships. To provide education for poor but meritorious boys, the Principal is empowered to admit 10 per cent. of students free.

Mr Clarke has alluded to the growing needs of the institution, which requires larger room than is at present

available. The precise extent of these requirements on some points, such as scientific education, will be ascertained by the Education Commission which I have appointed and over which Mr Seddon presides. When the Commission submits its proposals, and other proposals come in due form, they will receive my attention, with due regard to financial considerations. In the meantime the hostels already built afford accommodation for over 150 students, and I am glad to receive the Principal's assurance that the house built for a Resident Professor will be occupied before the commencement of the next term.

Sometimes, when visiting these hostels, I wonder whether the students avail themselves of all the facilities afforded by them. They do not exist merely in as cheap a manner as possible to shelter you and to satisfy your bodily craving for food and sleep. They give you an excellent opportunity to know one another, to broaden one another's views, and by social intermingling to polish off rough edges as it were. Such intercourse can train you in mutual trust, and thus break down the barriers of suspicion due to ignorance of each other's ways and manners of life. While you are yet unacquainted, differences on the surface are the only things you see, whereas if you but took the trouble you would find beneath that surface that you have hopes, aspirations and characteristics in common. It appears to me that among the younger generation there is even less of that healthy curiosity that seeks to know the character of the people around them, than there was a generation or two ago. I trust I am wrong; for mutual isolation would postpone and even nullify our efforts towards unity.

Study each other intelligently and sympathetically. Rid yourselves of your provincial and racial prejudices. Cast

off without delay those harmful customs and superstitions which impede your progress. Gujaratis and Deccanis, Hindus, Parsis and Muslims should all mix freely, and they will be astonished when they realise how greatly they had previously exaggerated the importance of insignificant differences; and how little they understood and appreciated their basic similarity and unity.

Tours to different parts of India have been arranged; and I trust students in increasing numbers will perceive the great and real help which such tours afford to the education of the mind. I watch with much interest also the varying successes of our students on the cricket field; such games develop their physique, and also teach them the high virtues of patience, endurance and fairness to opponents.

Lastly, I am much gratified to learn from Mr Clarke's report that the general behaviour of the students has been good during the year under review, and that the results of the examinations have been eminently satisfactory.

But while I congratulate those students who have shown much aptitude for learning, and made such progress in different branches of knowledge, let me remind them, and all of you, that the highest and the noblest object of education is not the acquisition of knowledge itself, but the formation of character. The study of the world's literature and history is vain unless it inspires you with aspirations towards that which is honest and true in life, towards the great and the noble. The pursuit of Science or the knowledge of the laws of Nature is vain, unless you mould your mind in accuracy of thought and observation, in steadfastness of purpose and endeavour. And all the laborious studies to which you are devoting the best portion of your young lives will be to no purpose, if they do not make you better and

abler men, stronger and more determined to perform your duty during the years which lie before you.

Look around you, and mark the successes of those who have distinguished themselves. You will find that it is not book-knowledge alone, but solid worth of character, which has led to their success. It is not the man deeply versed in the history of commerce and trade who has risen to be a successful merchant; it is the man of sober thought, of industry and of steady persistence. It is not the brilliant scholar who stands highest in Government service or in the liberal professions; it is the man who to a liberal education and strong intellect adds the higher virtues of conscientious work, courage of conviction, honesty of purpose and devotion to duty. Gather all the learning which schools and colleges provide for you; spend your young years in acquiring useful knowledge, but let that learning and knowledge so mould your character that you may turn out stronger and truer men, men of sound sense and good manners, better equipped for the battle of life which awaits you. For those of you who will thus profit by the education you are receiving, success is assured in the future.

India has need of active citizens to-day. We could profitably exchange much of our meditation for Western activity. Metaphysical contemplation may be admirable *per se*. But what we require is more of the study of the actual conditions of this life than of future existence, if we are to hold a place in the van of civilisation; and I trust that those who go forth, year after year, from this institution, will find careers of usefulness for themselves and of benefit to their country.

Steady continuous progress has been the only true progress in the history of the world, and the path of steady

progress lies open in all directions. Foremost among our present needs is an improvement in the condition of the masses—of the millions of cultivators and labourers who live in villages and towns. Some of the young students that I see before me may decide perhaps to settle down in the country as farmers, to adopt improved methods of agriculture, to start co-operative credit societies, and to introduce in villages something of the civilisation of the age. Your example will leaven the cultivating classes, will introduce among them improved ideas of health and sanitation, and will help them to take an interest in the management of their own village concerns.

More than this, there is need for the subordination of individual interests to the interests of the community. I should rather say that it is of the utmost importance to realise that in order to further and safeguard one's individual interests—in order to make them stable and progressive in character, the object can in no way be better accomplished than by furthering the public welfare. It is a mistake to suppose that corporate life must be at the expense of the individual. The welfare of the community as a whole is consistent with, nay more it is dependent on, the well-being and development of smaller bodies, of sects and castes and guilds, and of the full realisation of individual capacities.

If you can realise this principle, if you can achieve these results even in a limited extent in your lifetime, if you can inspire the village population with the utility of common aims and endeavours, you will have gone a considerable way towards curing that social disintegration from which our country and our people have so grievously suffered. Those who have studied history to any purpose will know that in every country in Europe—in Germany, in France,

in England—this work of elevating the humbler classes has been effected within the last century. It is your mission to help the Government in its efforts towards this amelioration. More than that, there is the enormous field open to you which is beyond the sphere of Government—I mean charitable and social work. The success of our endeavour to raise the educational standard of our women depends largely on your co-operation and encouragement in the home. It would be difficult to overestimate the advantage that would accrue to the youth of India if their mothers and sisters were better equipped for influencing their impressionable years. Elevate the condition and lives of our villagers and you have a solid foundation for national greatness. Surely the success of the individual is not inimical to the well-being of the family. Improve the cottage and you improve the empire.

Passing from agriculture to industries and trade, there is scope for persevering educated men in that direction also. There is a popular fallacy that it is less dignified for an educated man to occupy himself in business than in the professions. You have but to turn to the United States for example to see what little ground there is for this fallacy. Many more American graduates go into industries than into professions. Happily more attention has been paid during the past generation to manufacture and trade. Cotton industries have sprung up in the large towns of Western India, and smaller industries are also attracting numbers of educated men. The *Swadeshi* movement, which, rightly understood, means a commendable and patriotic partiality for home manufactures, has also given a great impetus to manufacturing industries all over India.

The Government of India and the Governments of

different Provinces are doing much to foster various industries, and the people are responding to their call. Within my limited sphere I have for many years devoted my attention to this subject. The extension of my railways, the encouragement given to cotton mills and other enterprises, the establishment of the Bank of Baroda, and lastly the recent abolition of customs duties will, I hope, facilitate the industries and trades of my State. After all a Government can but grant facilities; it remains for the people themselves to take advantage of those facilities and thereby raise their general status and well-being. What is wanted is patient application, prolonged preparation, and persevering effort.

I have spoken of agriculture, industries and trade; but cast your eyes on the various learned and liberal professions, and young men of education and perseverance need not despair. No doubt the professions are overcrowded, and the path to Government service is somewhat circumscribed. But for all that, no man with sound mind and a stout heart need fear the lack of useful employment in India. A Government should not only identify itself with the interests and the legitimate ambitions of the people to better themselves, but should also give a healthy direction to the activities of the rising generation; the sphere to usefulness must expand with the progress of the times. Obstacles which prevent the utilisation to the full of our talent will gradually disappear. The recent reforms of Lord Morley form a step in this direction. The British Government in India requires the help and co-operation of the most talented sons of the country in the task of administration and legislation, and it is to-day welcoming to a larger extent such help and co-operation. This is a wise policy fraught with great results in the future.

I believe the best form of Government is Government through the people themselves—such as the village communities of India enjoyed from ancient ages. In modern times the State has assumed many of their functions, and this centralisation of administrative duties has told on the village population, who, in the present day, are lacking in initiative, in self-help and self-reliance and in co-operative action. The best remedy for this is decentralisation. The people should be trained to look after their own concerns to a greater extent. How desirable it is that the villagers should undertake the sanitary improvements of the villages, the provision of wells, the laying out of roads, the management of schools, and the settlement of small disputes, civil and criminal, in their villages! It may be true that some of the functions instanced have not been exercised before by local government bodies, but then government in all its ramifications has become more complex, and includes within its scope the duty of satisfying many new wants. Among these new wants can be classed a large number of other functions, which from their very nature could be best carried out by local bodies. Such delegation of powers, if rationally carried out, would form part of a complete system of decentralisation and representative government. But the mere delegation of powers to villagers will not secure the object in view. A sense of responsibility must be ingrained within the people: they have to be taught to know what is good for them, and how to secure it; and this can be effected only by education and by long experience in administrative work. It is for this reason that I lay great stress on the general education of the masses.

We sometimes hear it said that the progress of education is solely responsible for the feeling of political unrest. That

there should be discontent is not necessarily an evil, for, as education broadens man's ideas, and as educated men will necessarily form high aspirations, which they will strive to realise, there will be a discontent with present conditions. A consciousness of the possibility of improvement is a necessary prelude to any advance. In fact, the absence of all dissatisfaction is symptomatic of decay. If any of this unrest has shown itself in the form of sedition, anarchy and crime, it is due not to education but to its abuse; for, when a system of education leads to anarchy and crime, that system is unsound. Crimes have been committed recently, in India and in England, which have sent a thrill of indignation throughout the Empire; and men whose lives were one long devotion to duty have fallen at the hands of criminal fanatics. It is obviously the duty of civilised Government to stamp out such crimes. To remove this new danger effectively—this tendency to anarchy and violence—one must diligently look for its true explanation, and one must remove its root causes.

Fortunately, there has been no trouble in Baroda; sedition and anarchy find no place in my State and my subjects are peaceful, law-abiding and engrossed in their own occupations. I have been in close touch with my people during the last thirty years, and no one has greater faith in their good sense than I have. I trust that the same good sense will keep them safe in the future from acts which are foolish and criminal, and that it will not be necessary for the State to adopt measures for their repression.

In the path of true progress, based on sound and universal education, I hope to see my subjects progressing from day to day. I wish all students present here a happy career in life. Under the blessings of God, may their duties be pleasant and may their lives be happy.

XLIV

His Highness gave the following short Address in Marathi when presiding at a Prize Distribution at the Depressed Classes Mission at Poona on the 26th of September 1909.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I appreciate the honour the Depressed Classes Mission in Poona have done me in asking me to preside at this function to-day. I have great sympathy with these classes, and I sincerely hope that the good work which the Mission has set itself will be crowned with success. Bearing in mind the great difficulties that beset the path of your people, I sincerely admire the efforts you are making to ameliorate your condition.

People are apt to be led away with the idea that if you acquire knowledge you are not likely to be of much use to them. I say this is a fallacy. You should endeavour to acquire all the knowledge in your power. With this object I am glad to say that there are to-day 335 schools in my territory with 82,000 boys and girls attending them, and the number is increasing. Added to this, I have opened boarding houses for the scholars. There are a good many Hindus, I regret to say, who do not relish the idea of working for the depressed classes, and I had to call in the aid of Christian and Muslim teachers to do the work. I may tell you that personally I do not like the word "Depressed" as applied to you, but it all depends upon your own exertions whether you are to remain depressed or to improve your condition.

At present the aim of most persons in acquiring knowledge is for the purpose of securing suitable employment. My advice to you is to try to improve yourselves in other directions as well as those needed for gaining a livelihood.

It is my settled conviction that all classes should possess knowledge, and with this object I treat all classes as being on an equality. My advice to you is that, if you wish to preserve your prestige, you should lend your friendly aid to, and treat in kindly manner, the classes inferior to you, in the same way that you wish the higher classes to treat you.

XLV

At the Third Anniversary of the Depressed Classes Mission at Bombay on the 18th of October 1909, after distributing some prizes to pupils attending the society's school, His Highness briefly addressed the meeting.

He said that the previous speakers had left very little for him to say. He would, however, say a few words. He thought that if India was to rise and to take her proper place amongst the nations of the world, they must not neglect their social system. They should first clean the Augean stable of their prejudices and superstitions, and then they would be ready to embark upon real progress.

They had that day heard eloquent speeches on the question of untouchability. Now what was that question? Was it a question of a moral code, was it a question of practical politics, or of finance, or of humanity, or of religion? He had considered the question from various points of view. Untouchability might have superstition or religion from a Hindu's point of view to justify it. But from the point of view of humanity it had no justification. In no other country in the world was there such an institution as a depressed class.

The question of untouchability was peculiarly Hindu. It could be fully understood only by Hindus. Even then

they found that opinions about it differed in different provinces and among different classes of people. The Hindu religion was such that they could interpret it in whatever manner they wished to, provided they were bent upon doing so. The theory of untouchability was that if a person touched another of a lower caste, the former was supposed to be polluted. But that sentiment of pollution applied not only to the lower or depressed classes but it existed even among higher classes between themselves. Even in respect of the latter, a time might come when members of a family might make one of them sit apart and not touch him.

His Highness thought that absence of such prejudices and superstitions had enabled other communities to occupy a much higher position materially, socially and politically, than the Hindus, who boasted so much of the civilisation of Bharatkhand. This problem was of national importance. It was not a question for one prince or an individual to take up. If they wanted to rise as a nation, they must all espouse the cause of the depressed classes and raise their status socially and politically.

XLVI

During the visit of Lord and Lady Minto,* the latter opened a fancy bazaar at the inauguration of a Home for Distressed Women. On the evening of the 15th of November 1909, a Banquet was given in the Laxmi Vilas Palace in honour of Their Excellencies. A contemporary describing the brilliance and wealth of the illuminations both inside and outside of the Palace, remarks that they produced the impression of a chapter from the *Arabian Nights*. Amongst the more than two hundred guests in the magnificent hall were the Countess of Antrim and Lady Eileen Elliot. On this occasion

* Lord Minto, Viceroy and Governor General of India, 1905–1910.

His Highness proposed the Toast of the health of His Majesty the King-Emperor in the following terms:

YOUR EXCELLENCIES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I have great pleasure in proposing the health of His Majesty the King-Emperor.

Nearly nine years ago His Majesty ascended the throne of the greatest empire the world has known, and his unceasing and beneficent labours during this period, in the interests of peace and friendliness among nations, have borne rich fruits, which are appreciated and felt all over the civilised world.

The people of India gave him a loyal and cordial reception when, as Prince of Wales, he visited these shores over thirty years ago; and it was my proud privilege to welcome him in this State and in this city on that auspicious occasion.

His Majesty's Indian subjects rejoice to know that they have always a place in His Majesty's thoughts. May he live long, and may his reign be as glorious as that of his august mother. I ask you now to drink the health of His Majesty King Edward VII, Emperor of India.

XLVI *a*

His Highness the Maharaja then proposed the Toast to the health of Their Excellencies, and warm applause followed his reference to Lord Minto's escape from a dastardly attempt on his life that had but recently been made at Ahmedabad.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I rise now to propose the health of my illustrious guest, His Excellency the Viceroy. Two of His Excellency's predecessors, Lord Dufferin and Lord Elgin, favoured us with their visits within my time. As on those occasions, I rejoice once more in according a cordial welcome to the august representative of the King-Emperor.

Years have elapsed since the visits of the preceding Viceroys; many changes have taken place within these years, but the friendly relations of my State with the British Government remain unchanged, and the firm and unalterable loyalty of my House to the British Throne remains unshaken. Indeed, the lapse of years has drawn our mutual relations yet closer. We form portions of the same great Empire; we are inspired by the same object, which is the preservation of peace and public tranquillity; and we are animated by the same wish, which is the promotion of the progress, the prosperity and the happiness of the people.

My Lord, it has always appeared to me that any true progress among the people must embrace their social and moral advancement as well as their material well-being. I think the true function of Governments is not to stand entirely aloof in these matters, but to help forward their subjects in their endeavours to keep pace with modern times and modern ideas. After all, the masses are yet sunk in appalling ignorance and they need our support, encouragement and help in effecting reforms. To minister to social and moral advance has always been considered one of the duties of a Sovereign in the East. I have myself sometimes been criticised for taking administrative action to correct social evils and religious abuses. So far, however, as one can judge from the results, my policy has met with some measure of success.

In these and in all other matters of internal administration, every Indian State, in proportion as it enjoys liberty of action, grows in efficiency in securing the welfare of its subjects, and therefore in promoting the general progress. Any curtailment of freedom in internal affairs lessens our

sense of responsibility and weakens our power for effecting improvement.

Loyalty has always been considered in the East as one of the first virtues in a people. But loyalty, when merely sentimental, is of small value. It should be real, genuine, and active. To secure such loyalty, there should be a community of interests between the subjects and the ruling power. The former should have a proper share in the administration of the country and should feel that the Government is their own. It is for this reason that I hail with pleasure those great measures of reform which Your Excellency has initiated and which His Majesty's Government has accepted. These reforms will open out to the people of India a larger field of activity, and inspire them with a greater sense of responsibility in the performance of their civic duties. And future generations will recognise in these statesmanlike measures a forward step in the progress and the advancement of the country under the enlightened rule of Britain.

Within my limited scope I have attempted to follow the same liberal policy of inviting the co-operation of my subjects in the work of administration and spreading education amongst them. We have passed through some sad and anxious years of drought and famine, but the present year's monsoon has been favourable and I hope it marks the beginning of a cycle of prosperity. Measures have been adopted to encourage industries, to withdraw restrictions on trade, to help the agricultural population and to introduce some form of self-government in villages and towns. I am glad to think that my State enjoys profound peace, and that my subjects are quiet and contented and engaged in the peaceful vocations of their daily life. That they may

steadily advance in prosperity, in education and in self-help are the foremost objects of my administration.

Education, after all, is the most efficacious means of national progress. As one who has for many years been in intimate touch with the people, I may venture to remark that the education imparted in this country is not exactly of the right kind. Its effect is superficial; it does not sufficiently penetrate society. True education consists, not merely in the acquisition of knowledge, but in the development of the reasoning powers and in the formation of character. It should train up men to a full sense of the responsibility of their duties as men and as citizens; it should not be confined to one class, but should reach the masses. The attainment of these objects, in my opinion, can best be helped forward by the adoption of a sound system of primary and secondary education which will influence the people at the most impressionable period of their lives.

It seems to me that a wider spread of education is all the more necessary now that it is proposed to enlist the co-operation of large classes in the management of their own affairs and to widen the basis of representation. I know full well the difficulties with which education is beset, difficulties which many are liable to ignore in their haste to achieve in a day those results which are attainable only by the patient and selfless work of generations. I would have my people learn that progress to be real must have its roots in themselves; that they must look to the orderly conduct of their lives, that it is probity, fair-mindedness, public spirit and loyalty to the State which make good citizens. I would have them learn that he who can subordinate his private interests to the common weal is he who is fitted for a voice in the affairs of State. The truly educated will regard the

personal liberty they enjoy as the most precious blessing of civilisation, and their duties to the State as essential to their corporate existence. Those on the other hand who confound liberty with licence and seek to undermine authority must be repressed with a firm hand and not allowed to endanger the public tranquillity or general progress.

These, my Lord, are my ideals of education and self-help. In all my endeavours to achieve progress and to make my subjects worthy citizens, I know that I can rely on Your Excellency's support. I cordially acknowledge the ready assistance which my administration receives from Your Excellency's Government, and as cordially I assure Your Excellency of my readiness to respond within my power to any call for co-operation with the Government of India.

I desire in conclusion to express on behalf of the Maharani and of myself the gratification that we feel at Lady Minto's visit to our capital, and I wish once more to offer to Her Ladyship and to Your Excellency our heartiest welcome. Our welcome, my Lord, is fraught with the most heartfelt gratitude that Providence has saved Your Excellency from the dastardly attempted outrage of which the news has just reached us. I voice, my Lord, the feelings not only of myself and of my people but also of the whole of India, in expressing, so far as words can express, our profound horror that such a crime could even be thought of, much less attempted against one who is, not only the representative of His Majesty, but also the truest friend and benefactor of our country.

I now ask you all to join in drinking the health of Their Excellencies with feelings of high esteem for them and of deep loyalty to the Throne.

In reply Lord Minto said:

"YOUR HIGHNESS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—Your Highness has reminded me that since the days of Lord Dufferin and Lord Elgin no Viceroy has visited Baroda as your guest, and I am glad that it has devolved upon me as the representative of the King-Emperor to renew the acceptance of your friendly hospitality. You have often kindly pressed it upon me, but public engagements have ruthlessly stood in the way, and I rejoice that the visit I have so often vainly looked forward to has at last become a reality.

"I have listened with deep interest to the eloquent words in which you have assured me of the friendly relations of your State with the British Government, and have asserted the unshaken loyalty of your House to the Throne. I know that Your Highness fully recognises the great extent to which the future peace and prosperity of the Indian Empire must depend upon a true appreciation of the unity of interests of its component parts and their mutual co-operation for the common good. I trust that future years will very fully justify the words of welcome with which Your Highness has greeted those measures of reform which have been announced to-day, and which have been so long under the consideration of the Government of India and His Majesty's Government, and I earnestly hope that they may assist further to a closer understanding between the people of this country and its Rulers.

"We have made a great step forward in our political machinery. We must not be too impatient for evidence of its results. It cannot at first be perfect. We shall have much to learn from experience of its working, and, not only that, we must remember that the political progress of India, I mean the progress that entitles a larger number of the population to take a share in the political life of the country, must be very slow. The success of that progress will depend upon the education we place at the disposal of the people, and I agree with what I believe to be Your Highness' view, that the education hitherto imparted has neglected the moral and religious training which are the foundation of character. The want of that foundation has already been the cause of many evils and is full of future danger against which we are bound to provide. I am well aware of the labour Your Highness has devoted to the study of educational and

social questions in your State. In other matters too you have done much for administrative efficiency. The creation of your Legislative Council, and your bold attempt to separate the exercise of judicial and executive functions has, I can assure Your Highness, elicited the warm interest of the Government of India, and I must at the same time wish you every success in the results of the abolition by your Durbar of all internal custom duties.

"Your Highness has alluded to the unfortunate occurrence at Ahmedabad of Saturday, and has told me that the cordiality of our welcome has been accentuated by the general rejoicing that we had escaped safely from a grave danger. It is always pleasant to receive the sympathy of one's friends, and I cordially thank Your Highness for the kindness of your expression towards Lady Minto and myself. I have so often expressed my opinion as to the nature of these dastardly outrages, that I need scarcely repeat what I have said on many occasions. But I shall always refuse to admit that these anarchical crimes should be allowed to blacken the character of a whole people. They emanate from men with whom the great mass of the people have no sympathy, but all the same their deeds are a slur upon the people of India, and I trust that they will assist the Government of India to eradicate from their midst the seeds of the poison that have been scattered amongst them.

"I can assure Your Highness it has been a great gratification to me to renew our acquaintance in the capital of this important Principality, whose friendly relations with the British Government have existed for over a century, and to recognise on all sides the main evidence of your administrative energy and capacity. And, Your Highness, Lady Minto and I will carry away with us many recollections not only of the magnificence of your hospitality, but also of the cordiality of the welcome extended to us by Your Highness and the Maharani."

XLVII

Mr Romesh Chander Dutt,* at the time Dewan of the Baroda State, died in November 1909, and on the 30th of that month the Maharaja presiding at a meeting of condolence said:

GENTLEMEN,—We are met to-day to pay a tribute of respect to the memory of the late Romesh Chander Dutt, Dewan of this State, and to express our sympathy with the bereaved family.

It is but rare that in the annals of society a man leaves behind him a record of service so full of effort and of splendid achievement as this departed son of India has. Carlyle, in his *Oliver Cromwell*, has said: "There is an irrepressible tendency in every man to develop himself according to the magnitude which Nature has made him of; to speak out, to act out, what Nature has laid in him. This is proper, fit, inevitable: nay, it is a duty, and even the summary of duties for a man". When we call to our mind all that Mr Dutt succeeded in achieving in his sixty-one years of life, I think we may say without hesitation that he ever lived up to this definition of manly duty. For if ever man spoke out, acted out, what Nature laid in him, made the most of his talents and opportunities, he was that man.

As the youthful student, after mastering the elements of English knowledge, he sailed with two friends over un-

* Romesh Chander Dutt, born in 1848, the only Indian to obtain the position of Divisional Commissioner in the last century. He was Revenue Commissioner at Baroda from 1904–1906; a Member of the Royal Commission on Decentralisation in India in 1907–1908; and Dewan of Baroda in 1909. He died there in November 1909. A statesman of no mean order, he was even more widely known by his literary works, especially his condensed renderings in English verse of the Indian epics, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Besides historical and social novels in Bengali, he published works on *Civilisation in Ancient India*; *The Economic History of India under early British Rule;* and *The Economic History o India in the Victorian Age.*

known seas to an all but unknown country, there to distinguish himself in open competition with the sons of that land. As the observant traveller refining his knowledge gained in the schools by contact with the every-day world, he was surely expressing the magnitude which Nature had made him of. As the administrator, unflinchingly facing the horrors of famine and disease, relieving suffering and restoring order, calm and self-reliant in time of difficulty, loyal to his colleagues, anxious for the advancement of his countrymen socially, economically and politically, he was ever constant to his ideals of duty, worthy of his high calling. As the *littérateur*, drinking deep of the wells of classical learning, bringing it through translation within the reach of the humblest, he worked untiringly for the common good. In everything, as student, administrator, poet, artist in words, and politician, he fought and strove 'like a true giant of a man' for the good of society, and that not merely a society of creed, caste or colour, but the world society made up of all humanity.

Such a man as Mr Dutt has an influence on society of the deepest value. His strength of character and high sense of duty are incentives to others to follow the same ideals, with the result that the whole tone of the society of which he was a member is improved, uplifted. No one could come into contact with him without being struck by his intense unselfishness, his energetic application to his work at the expense of health itself. His tolerance of opinions antagonistic to his own, his hatred of bigotry and faction, his constant appeals on behalf of unity of action, his catholic sympathy, his moderation in the expression of his own ideas, his patience under criticism, all went to uplift society, to give it higher ideals, to broaden its views.

From another, more individualistic, point of view, his career gives to every young man an example of what may be achieved by the pursuit of knowledge. In our Indian society especially there is great need of applying to the service of our country all the powers which come from a diffusion of true knowledge: for in its light disappear those arguments which defend the permanent degradation of the untouchable classes, the bigoted assertion of birth superiority by a few privileged classes, the phenomena most prominent in our society of to-day, a system which must give way to one more in accordance with modern needs. Briefly, one may say that the principal value of such an example as that afforded by Mr Dutt's career is its commanding incentive to ambition to follow the paths of righteousness.

But society has a duty to perform in its relations with virtue and genius. The opportunities afforded by a sound education system, both elementary and advanced, must be offered to all who are sufficiently gifted to make use of them. A ladder of knowledge must be set up so that the future Hampden may be enabled to climb from a life of comparative oblivion to a position of influence in the Councils of the State; so that the future poet, scientist, historian or novelist may, by its means, acquire that information and culture which should play a prominent part in the development of the country.

To my mind, then, one of the most prominent lessons to be taken to heart by society, from such an example as Mr Dutt's life has given, is the pressing need of offering opportunities of education to all, and this irrespective of sex. For, where one has succeeded others may follow. The individual member of society may draw from his career a lesson for

himself in the example of a constant seeking after the welfare of the whole body, of the advantages of self-restraint, self-knowledge, self-control, of determined devotion to the cause of the weak and the helpless, of the truest and most devoted patriotism.

Time does not permit of more than a few imperfect phrases. Face to face with the fact that a great man whom we all knew and loved, who was but a few weeks ago working with us in the common aim, the raising of our country, it is impossible to give expression to all the thoughts that demand utterance. May I however crave your indulgence whilst I give you briefly my own personal impression of Mr Dutt in as few words as possible.

Of all his characteristics, I think the most striking was his determination to think the best of every man, his belief in the good that lies in the heart of all, sometimes dormant perhaps, but nevertheless to be reached by the magic wand of tactful sympathy. In this he was truly philanthropic, a lover of his fellow-men. With all his great experience of public life as an administrator, in spite of the high and acknowledged position he occupied as a master of political affairs, he was never impatient of criticism, always used his best endeavours thoroughly to comprehend the meaning of any suggestion, never wilfully or carelessly misunderstanding. His geniality and kindliness of temperament turned work done with him into a pleasure and lightened the toil inseparable from the work of government.

In him India has lost a great patriot and leader, and every Indian individually has lost a staunch and fearless supporter of his rights and claims so far as they were based on justice. To his friends the loss is such as may not form the subject of words: it is more suitably the object of silent sympathy.

All who met him, of whatever shades of political and social opinion, feel his loss as one affecting them closely and personally.

To the bereaved family we can but offer the most sincere sympathy in their terrible loss. The life of such a man is not bounded by death. His influence reaches beyond the shadows which conceal from our knowledge the world beyond. Of him we may say, in the words of the inscription carved on the tomb of Tennyson, words eloquent in their brevity:

> Speak, living voice! with thee, death is not death;
> Thy life outlives the life of dust and breath.

XLVIII

At a meeting held on the 12th of January 1910 to the memory of Mr Romesh Chander Dutt, His Highness made the following short speech:

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I am present here with mixed feelings. There is sorrow and grief at the death of Mr Dutt. There is melancholy pleasure in that my country is alive to appreciate his many good qualities. Mr Dutt was endowed by Nature to be the leader of men. His broad shoulders were fit to carry any responsibilities. His features though not very handsome were designed by Nature for the purpose in life for which he was meant. The features are only the exterior of a man: it is to the interior that we must turn our gaze. His genial nature was such that it was a pleasure to come in contact with him. His intelligence was of more than ordinary type. He ranked among the great literary men of the world. His death has caused a loss to the whole world.

I am glad to find that all of you who have assembled here recognise his merits and duly appreciate them. It shows that society is awake to see the virtues of the man. It is an encouragement to others to follow in the path of those high and noble virtues, and an incentive to good deeds. There is a close relationship between the individual and the society. They are dependent upon one another. We stand in need of individuality of character. It is the development of the individuals that will lead to the development of the society. Mr Dutt resided among you for several years, and I am sure all have been impressed with his many good qualities and his genial temper. It is not necessary that I should speak much on this topic. You know much about him already: and his friend Mr Gupta, who is among us, will tell us more about him.

At a young age we find him running away from his home, in defiance of the authority of his elders and in disregard of social restrictions. The step was justified by the result and it brought him success in life. He was not a man to be daunted by difficulties. I feel his loss immensely. With his experience and with his great abilities, I had expected that he would have been of great use and help to me. A memorial is necessary to perpetuate his good qualities and to serve as an incentive to others to profit by the lessons his life has to teach us. The needs of India are indeed great. There is a field for each of you. It is each little achievement that slowly leads to an accumulation. If each one discharges his duty, however humble, well, that is sufficient. Mr Dutt deserves a memorial. If you make a memorial for him, it will be a tribute to the goodness that is in mankind.

XLIX

In the year 1910 the Maharaja made a short stay in Japan. On the 21st of May he made a short Speech to the members of the Indo-Japanese Association in recognition of the reception they had accorded him. During the proceedings, the following Address was presented to His Highness:

"YOUR HIGHNESS,—We, the president and members of the Indo-Japanese Association, most respectfully and cordially welcome Your Highness to this Land of the Rising Sun. This is the first occasion on which the Ruler of a leading native State in India has honoured us with a visit, and we earnestly hope that other native Princes of India may follow Your Highness's example, and thereby strengthen and promote friendly relations between India and Japan, which is one of the main objects of this Association. We have watched with deep interest the moral and material progress made by Your Highness's subjects under your wise and beneficent rule. The rapid development of Your Highness's territories, the increased attention paid to sanitation and public works, and the wonderful strides made in primary as well as in secondary education have made Baroda a model state in India. Your Highness's liberal, sympathetic and enlightened administration conducted with rare ability and devotion to duty, and Your Highness's sincere and earnest desire to promote the welfare of your subjects have elicited our respect and admiration. We most humbly and respectfully beg to congratulate Your Highness on the highly successful results of your benign and progressive rule. Your Highness's noble and philanthropic efforts to elevate and emancipate the depressed classes in India, which ought to precede real nationalism and not succeed it, have been greeted with praise and admiration by the whole civilised world.

"In conclusion, we sincerely hope and trust that Your Highness will make a prolonged stay in this country, and visit us again in the near future to renew and strengthen the bonds of brotherhood between the Indians and the Japanese. Wishing Your Highness a very pleasant sojourn, long life, and happiness."

MR PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—Thank you for the very cordial welcome which you have given me to the Land of the Rising Sun; I feel very flattered by your expressions of appreciation of my administration in Baroda.

It has for long been my great desire to see this famous country which during the course of the last half century has made such wonderful strides towards progress, and now takes a place in the front rank of the great powers of the world. I wished to study myself the causes which have contributed to this rapid progress. The recent victory of your arms in war has excited admiration throughout the world. Among Eastern nations especially it has stirred a chord of sympathy, and the position which you have achieved has awakened new hopes and ambitions dormant among us. Yet however great a factor your victories have been in the general progress of Japan, they are not themselves the ultimate cause of your success, but rather depend on a chain of causes of the deepest interest to every earnest student of history.

My stay in Japan has been too short and my time too much occupied for me to make a thorough study of all the causes which have brought your country into such well-earned prominence to-day; but there are a few points which have struck me and upon which I shall wish to dwell when I carry back to my own country a message from Japan.

Gentlemen, the first point which I would mention is that feature which strikes me as most prominent among you, your wonderful power of assimilation and adaptation. With a liberal mind and open heart you freely adopt any foreign custom which you think will serve your purpose well. People in India still have to battle against age-long deep-rooted prejudices. They cling to old customs with a tenacity

which bars the road to progress. Among you new discoveries and inventions are being made every day in every department of life. You are continually testing your institutions and customs by a thoughtful comparison with those of other nations. And from this critical comparison new ideas are born. We, in India, are inclined to be satisfied with the boast that we were once great, and that our land was the fountain-head of all religion and philosophy in days gone by. I do not undervalue the past, but:

> The old order changeth, yielding place to new,
> And God fulfils himself in many ways
> Lest one good custom should corrupt the world.

The West has come to the fore, and unless we adopt new thoughts and ideas we shall inevitably lag behind. I do not recommend a foolish imitation of all that is Western. Japan has not done that. In a spirit at once critical and appreciative you have exercised an intelligent power of selection, approaching new ideas and new ways of life with a fearless and unbiased mind. This is the spirit of the true patriot who seeks throughout the world for those things which may bring good to his own land. The alliance of Japan with Great Britain is a striking illustration of this. It has tended to break down barriers of creed and race, and has fostered a spirit at once broad, tolerant, and cosmopolitan.

The second point on which I would dwell is the unity that prevails amongst you. Every one here seems to me to be united in one religion and in one universal cause, the advancement of the true interests of his country. In India there are so many divisions arising from differences of caste, creed, religion and language, that unity is conspicuous by its absence. Unless we in India can remove these barriers,

especially the greatest of all, 'caste', there can be no progress. The people of India are apt to be proud that the great Prince Philosopher of Kapilavastu was born among them and attained *Nirvāṇa* in their country. True, the Buddha introduced a momentous change into the religious life of the people; he gave the Hindu school of thought a moral impetus and established such an independent and sturdy ethical system that it shook the very foundations of what is known in the West as the Brahmanical religion. Unfortunately, this energy soon exhausted itself, and the later history of Buddhism in India does not redound to our credit. On your soil, on the contrary, it has put forth its best blossoms. In Japan an ethical thought has germinated with a vigour worthy of all praise. It is not, however, Buddhism alone so much as the grafting of Buddhism on to Shintoism which has given Japan so tolerant and so liberal a mind.

The third point which I would mention is your discipline and respect for authority. It is not only the quality of being able to command, though that goes a long way to achieve great objects; this must be coupled with the equally great qualities of obedience and respect for authority, the outcome of general intelligence and self-restraint. It seems to me that Japan has found the secret of expressing what is known among philosophers as "the general will" of the people. In the pursuit of a lofty aim her citizens can subdue their immediate desires, and thus each individual seeks to develop that higher self which communal life alone can foster.

And this brings me to my last point, which is far from being the least important. Your intense patriotism and love for the sovereign and his ancestors who are considered to be the ancestors of the whole community—an idea of family

life with its strong, good and natural ties thus pervading the whole state. You in your own way have solved the problem which has perplexed philosophers throughout all time, the reconciliation of the often-conflicting claims of the family and the state. With you the state is but an enlarged family, the country but an enlarged homestead. Gentlemen, the highest good that I can wish you is that this spirit may never die out among you, that it may survive the strife and competition which modern life entails, and that the country in which to-day all men are brothers will to-morrow play a leading part in demonstrating the universal brotherhood of mankind.

L

Amongst the many interesting events during the stay of His Highness, together with Her Highness and the Princes, in Japan, were a tea party in the beautiful gardens of Count Okuma; and a dinner at the Bank of Japan Club, at which Baron and Baroness Takahashi, Baron and Baroness Kanda, Viscount Inaba, Baron Matsuo, and Viscount and Countess Mishima were present. They were also given a reception and entertained to an Indian dinner by members of the Indian commercial community at Yokohama. At the reception the following Address of welcome was read:

TO HIS HIGHNESS MAHARAJA SAYAJI RAO GAEKWAR,
SENA-KHASKHEL SAMSHER BAHADUR.

"*May it please Your Highness:*

"We the undersigned, members of the Indian commercial community resident in Yokohama, Japan, desire to convey to Your Highness our deep appreciation of the honour you have conferred upon us by your presence here to-day.

"That Her Highness the Maharani, and Princess Indiraraja, should also have been pleased to grace the proceeding is a source of intense gratification to us.

"Your Highness' sympathetic and munificent rule, ever fostering

the welfare of your subjects, has won the hearts of all. That for the furtherance of the education and prosperity of your people you should deem it wise to despatch many young students from your territories for purposes of study and research to all parts of the world is illustrative of the high ideals that actuate Your Highness, and that a number of those students are now resident in this country is a great satisfaction to us.

"Trade and commerce, moving hand in hand with the industries and sciences, of every individual country supply the most patent factor for prosperity, and it is Your Highness' keen sense of the importance of education on these lines, together with Your Highness' own personal initiative in disseminating knowledge of every description (to male and female alike), that commands universal admiration and respect.

"We respectfully hope that Your Highness' visit (the first of its kind to this country) will not only serve as a precursor to many other visits, and prove to be a wealth of instructive information, but also that it may act as an incentive to others of our princes and chiefs to emulate Your Highness' conceptions.

"We beg to express our heartfelt regrets that we have been unfortunate in not having the opportunity of rendering our humble services to Your Highness. Nevertheless Your Highness' presence to-day, together with that of Her Highness the Maharani, and the Princess Indiraraja, is indicative of the interest Your Highness evidences in the welfare of the Indian community.

"We assure Your Highness that the honour you have granted us this evening will ever be associated by us with the pleasantest of memories.

"In conclusion, we beg Your Highness to accept our sincere wishes for a propitious voyage in your extended travels, and our heartfelt hopes that Your Highness may long be spared to rule over your people in the home-land in happiness and prosperity.

"We have the honour to be,
Your Highness' most obedient servants,
The Indian commercial community
resident in Yokohama."

Replying to the Address, His Highness expressed his great satisfaction in being given such a warm reception and in being able to meet so large an assemblage of his countrymen. He said that he hoped there would be a further increase of the Indian commercial community in Japan, and a further development of trade between Japan and India. Emphasising the advantages of commerce, the Maharaja remarked that Indians visiting Japan should not be satisfied with sight-seeing, but should study the causes of Japan's progress and benefit their country by the results of their study. With reference to their appreciation of his own efforts, he reminded them that it was the duty of every ruler to improve the conditions of his subjects, and he was merely doing his duty. Yet it should not be forgotten that the difficulties of administration in India, where there were so many castes and creeds, were considerably greater than in Japan, which has an almost homogeneous population. Indians had watched with eagerness the progress of the Russo-Japanese War, and were deeply impressed by the wonderful strides Japan had made in recent years.

LI

His Highness, presiding at a meeting held in Bombay on the 30th of November 1910, convened for the purpose of presenting an address to Rao Bahadur Sunderdas, made a brief reference to a matter of great moment to his subjects in Dwarka—the connection of their district by railway to Kathiawar.

You will be pleased to hear the news that the project of joining Kathiawar with Dwarka by railway has now been finally settled. I have had the pleasure of talking with H.H. The Jam Saheb on the subject and this happy result has been arrived at. It has given me great pleasure to under-

take the construction of this line, not only because Dwarka forms part of my territory, but also because it will be the means of removing hardships which pilgrims to that holy shrine have now to suffer. Ere long this line will connect Dwarka with the rest of India, and it may be hoped that it will also be the means of stimulating trade and commerce.

LII

The Aryan Brotherhood at Bombay gave a Banquet on the 30th November 1910 in honour of the Maharaja on his return to India. In the course of his reply to Sir Narayan G. Chandararkar's welcome, His Highness made the following remarks concerning social sympathy and the social intercourse of women:

I consider that the progress of Indian society can be sound only when social and domestic institutions are based on sound principles. You all know that "Unity is strength", and unity can only be achieved when there is love and sympathy between the members of a society. How is that love to be created? And if created, how is it to be maintained? I consider there is no royal road to achieve that goal. I think there is nothing that brings people together more than breaking bread at the same table. I consider the greatest ideal for us is to form a nationality. To attain this ideal, sentiments should be similar; and that condition can be achieved by social intercourse. No community can look forward to substantial progress without such intercourse and similarity of sentiments.

The most hopeful sign of the times is that women are coming openly into our social life and mixing with us. Of course, this imposes a duty upon them as well as upon ourselves. It demands that men's manners and thoughts

should be chaste and polite. It is a sign of progress when men treat ladies with consideration and kindness. By such intercourse amongst men and women the moral character of both will be elevated. Let us hope they will have strength of character to avoid what is wrong and do what is right. I thank you very much for according me such a cordial reception.

APPENDIX

The following Proclamations of Her Majesty Queen Victoria made in 1877 and in 1858 respectively are of interest in connection with the first Speech.

By *The* QUEEN

A PROCLAMATION

VICTORIA, R.

Whereas an Act has been passed in the present session of Parliament, intituled An Act to enable Her Most Gracious Majesty to make an Addition to the Royal Style and Titles appertaining to the Imperial Crown of the United Kingdom and its Dependencies, which Act recites that, by the Act for the Union of Great Britain and Ireland it was provided that after such Union the Royal Style and Titles appertaining to the Imperial Crown of the United Kingdom and its Dependencies should be such as His Majesty by Royal Proclamation under the Great Seal of the United Kingdom, should be pleased to appoint: and which Act also recites that by virtue of the said Act and of a Royal Proclamation under the Great Seal, dated the 18th day of January 1801, Our present Style and Titles are: "Victoria, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Queen, Defender of the Faith" and which Act also recites that by the Act for the better Government of India it was enacted that the Government of India, thereto vested in the East India Company in trust for Us should become vested in Us, and that India should thenceforth be governed by Us and in Our name, and that it is expedient that there should be recognition of the transfer of government so made by means of an addition to Our Style and Titles: And which Act after the said recitals, enacts that it shall be lawful for Us, with a view to such recognition aforesaid, of the transfer of the Government of India, by Our Royal Proclamation under the Great Seal of the United Kingdom to make such addition to the Style and Titles at present appertaining to the Imperial Crown of the United Kingdom and its Dependencies as to Us may seem meet; We have thought, by and with the advice of Our Privy Council, to appoint and declare,

and We do hereby by and with the said advice, appoint and declare that henceforth, so far as convenience may be, on all occasions and in all instruments wherein Our Style and Titles are used, save and except all Charters, Commissions, Letters Patent, Grants, Writs, Appointments, and other like instruments, not extending in their operation beyond the United Kingdom and its Dependencies; that is to say, in the Latin tongue in these words: "India Imperatrix". And in the English tongue in these words: "Empress of India".

And Our will and pleasure further is, that the said addition shall not be made in the Commissions, Charters, Letters Patent, Grants, Writs, Appointments and other like instruments, hereinbefore specially excepted.

And Our will and pleasure further is, that all gold, silver, and copper moneys, now current and lawful moneys of the United Kingdom, and all gold, silver, and copper moneys which shall on or after this day be coined by Our authority with the like impression, shall notwithstanding such addition to Our Style and Titles, be deemed and taken to be current and lawful moneys of the said United Kingdom and declared by Our Proclamation to be current and lawful moneys of such Dependency respectively, bearing Our Style and Titles or any part thereof, and all moneys which shall hereafter be coined and issued according to such Proclamation shall notwithstanding such additions continue to be lawful and current moneys of such Dependency respectively until Our pleasure shall be further declared thereupon.

GIVEN AT OUR COURT AT WINDSOR, THE TWENTY-EIGHTH DAY OF APRIL, ONE THOUSAND AND EIGHT HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-SIX, IN THE THIRTY-NINTH YEAR OF OUR REIGN.

God Save the Queen

The document referred to in the Speech is the famous Proclamation of Queen Victoria in Council, to the Princes, Chiefs, and People of India, dated November 1st 1858:

VICTORIA, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the Colonies and Dependencies

thereof in Europe, Asia, Africa, America and Australia, Queen, Defender of the Faith.

Whereas, for divers weighty reasons, we have resolved, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, to take upon ourselves the government of the territories in India, heretofore administered for us by the Honourable East India Company.

Now, therefore, we do by these presents notify and declare that, by the advice and consent aforesaid, we have taken upon ourselves the said government; and we hereby call upon all our subjects within the said territories to be faithful, and to bear true allegiance to us, our heirs and successors, and to submit themselves to the authority of those whom we may hereafter, from time to time, see fit to appoint to administer the government of our said territories, in our name and on our behalf.

And we, reposing especial trust and confidence in the loyalty, ability, and judgment of our right trusty and well-beloved cousin Charles John, Viscount Canning, do hereby constitute and appoint him, the said Viscount Canning, to be our first Viceroy and Governor-General in and over our said territories, and to administer the government thereof in our name, and generally to act in our name and on our behalf, subject to such orders and regulations as he shall, from time to time, receive through one of our Principal Secretaries of State.

And we do hereby confirm in their several offices, civil and military, all persons now employed in the service of the Honourable East India Company, subject to our future pleasure, and to such laws and regulations as may hereafter be enacted.

We hereby announce to the Native Princes of India, that all treaties and engagements made with them by or under the authority of the East India Company are by us accepted and will be scrupulously maintained, and we look for the like observance on their part.

We desire no extension of our present territorial possessions, and, while we will permit no aggression upon our dominions or our rights to be attempted with impunity, we shall sanction no encroachment on those of others.

We shall respect the rights, dignity, and honour of Native Princes as our own; and we desire that they, as well as our own subjects, should enjoy that prosperity and that social advancement which can only be secured by internal peace and good government.

We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects, and those obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fill.

Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects. We declare it to be our royal will and pleasure that none be in any wise favoured, none molested or disquieted, by reason of their religious faith or observances, but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law; and we do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us that they abstain from all interference with the religious beliefs or worship of any of our subjects on pain of our highest displeasure.

And it is further our will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity duly to discharge.

We know, and respect, the feelings of attachment with which natives of India regard the lands inherited by them from their ancestors, and we desire to protect them in all rights connected therewith, subject to the equitable demands of the State; and we will that generally in framing and administering the law, due regard be paid to the ancient rights, usages, and customs of India.

We deeply lament the evils and misery which have been brought upon India by the acts of ambitious men, who have deceived their countrymen by false reports, and led them into open rebellion. Our power has been shown by the suppression of that rebellion in the field; we desire to show our mercy by pardoning the offences of those who have been misled but who desire to return to the path of duty.

Already, in one province, with a desire to stop the further effusion of blood, and to hasten the pacification of our Indian

dominions, our Viceroy and Governor-General has held out the expectation of pardon, on certain terms, to the great majority of those who, in the late unhappy disturbances, have been guilty of offences against our government, and has declared the punishment which will be inflicted on those whose crimes place them beyond the reach of forgiveness. We approve and confirm the said act of our Viceroy and Governor-General, and do further announce and proclaim as follows: Our clemency will be extended to all offenders, save and except those who have been or shall be convicted of having directly taken part in the murder of British subjects. With regard to such the demands of justice forbid the exercise of mercy.

To those who have willingly given asylum to murderers, knowing them to be such, or who may have acted as leaders or instigators of revolt, their lives alone can be guaranteed; but in apportioning the penalty due to such persons, full consideration will be given to the circumstances under which they have been induced to throw off their allegiance; and large indulgence will be shown to those whose crimes may appear to have originated in too credulous acceptance of the false reports circulated by designing men.

To all others in arms against the government, we hereby promise our unconditional pardon, amnesty, and oblivion of all offences against ourselves, our crown and dignity, on their return to their homes and peaceful pursuits. It is our royal pleasure that these terms of grace and amnesty should be extended to all those who comply with these conditions before the first day of January next.

When, by the blessing of Providence internal tranquillity shall be restored it is our earnest desire to stimulate the peaceful industry of India, to promote works of public utility and improvement, and to administer the government for the benefit of all our subjects resident therein. In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward. And may the God of all power grant to us and to those in authority under us strength to carry out these our wishes for the good of our people.

CAMBRIDGE: PRINTED BY WALTER LEWIS, M.A., AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS